MEDIEVAL INDIA

Being Part II
of
An Advanced History of India
(Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged)

by

R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D.

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The **Advanced History of India** was originally published in one volume in 1946, and at once established itself as a standard work on its complex and fascinating subject.

The Second Edition, revised and enlarged (1950), is now available in its three separate Parts, dealing respectively with Ancient, Medieval, and Modern India.

PART II

MEDIEVAL INDIA

This volume is divided into two Books. The first is devoted to the Muslim conquest, the expansion and disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate, and a general survey of the Turko-Afghan system of government and of moral and material conditions under their rule. Book II covers the contest with the Mughuls for supremacy in India, and the establishment and disintegration of the Mughul Empire, and ends with a careful study of social and economic life, education, literature, and art under Akbar and his successors. After the text, which contains the same illustrations and maps as in the parent work, come Genealogical Tables, Bibliography, Index, and a map of India at the end of the British Period.

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Majumdar

1952

AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA

PART II

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PART II

THE DELHI SULTĀNATE

AND

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

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PREFACE

THE chequered annals of our ancient land have been the theme of many a writer of the East as well as the West. If a fresh attempt is now made to recite the *itihāsa purātana* it is due in large measure to the accumulation of new stocks of information which every year are yielded to the spade of the archæologist and the patient industry of the scholar. It is also due in part to the teaching of experience which suggests the need, with fresh data at our disposal, of viewing things from a different angle of vision.

The book which is now published is primarily intended to meet the requirements of advanced students who have already an acquaintance with the broad outlines of the subject. It has been the endeavour of the authors to place before them in the course of the narrative such details about the salient features of Indian History in the different periods of its evolution as may be fitted into the framework of the story provided for them at the earlier stages of their educational career. In doing this a special stress has been laid on administrative, social, economic, and cultural aspects, which do not always receive in studies of this kind the attention that is their due. A prominent place has also been given to such important topics as the colonial and cultural expansion of the ancient Hindus, the evolution of different types of art and architecture, and the growth of a new India as a result of the impact of different civilisations in recent times.

The history of the latest periods has been written on a somewhat novel plan. Instead of dealing separately with the brief rule of each succeeding Governor-General, an attempt has been made to treat in their logical sequence such absorbing subjects as the rise and growth of a remote island people as a political power in our country, the different phases of constitutional and administrative changes, and the social, religious, and economic conditions during well-defined periods. In other words, in treating the events of the modern age, attention has in the main been focused not so much on personalities as on movements and courses of policy. This method may involve some loss of dramatic interest but has the merit of tracing clearly the main threads of history in a given epoch.

We have tried to make the details as accurate and authentic as possible in the light of the latest researches, and where no definite conclusion is possible we have sought to indicate the different view-points in a detached spirit. An attempt has been made to add flesh and blood to the dry skeleton of history, particularly that of the earlier periods, with the help of such materials as may be gleaned from a close scrutiny of the original sources. The maps, select bibliographies, and genealogical and chronological tables, will, it is hoped, be of some use to earnest investigators. We need not dilate upon other special features of the book which cannot be missed by anyone who examines it.

A joint literary production, in spite of its obvious advantages, is not unlikely to suffer from some serious defects. The authors sought to minimise these as far as possible by periodical discussions and scrutiny of the contents of each chapter. Whether, and how far, they have been able to avoid the imperfections that are apt to occur in a work of this kind, it is for others to judge. Apart from this, some defects may be attributed to the printing of the book in Great Britain at a time when communication between the authors and the publishers was rendered more and more difficult by circumstances over which they had no control. All these shortcomings may, we hope, be largely removed in future editions of the work. In the meantime we can only crave the indulgence of our readers for such errors of omission and commission as they may detect in the following pages.

In writing Oriental names and expressions we have adopted in a general way the method of transliteration which has been followed in standard works like the *Cambridge History of India*.

We take this opportunity of expressing our deep obligation to the *pūrva sūris* and to various individuals and associations who have lent us illustrations, etc., belonging to them, with permission to make photographic reproductions. Our special thanks are due to the representatives of the publishers for the keen interest they have taken in the progress of the work. If the book now offered to students helps in some measure to prepare the ground for a fuller and clearer view of the "broadening stream" of our country's history, the labour of the authors will be amply repaid.

R. C. Majumdar
H. C. Raychaudhuri
Kalikinkar Datta

Calcutta

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

POLITICAL changes of a momentous character have taken place in India since the first publication of this volume. The most important of these is the abdication of power and authority in India by the British, with the grant of virtual independence to the Dominions of India and Pakistan. It has therefore been thought desirable to bring this history up to August 15, 1947, when power was actually transferred to the hands of the Indians. Although in general this revised edition does not go beyond that date and does not even refer to such notable events as the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, nevertheless passing allusion has occasionally been made to later happenings in order to make the treatment of some non-controversial topics up-to-date.

The recent integration of Indian States into different Unions took place after August 15, 1947, but the readjustment of the boundaries of these states has so completely changed the political geography of modern India that it would be unwise to ignore it in a text-book of Indian History. We have accordingly dealt with this matter in an Appendix.

A second Appendix gives a summary of the new Constitution of India which came into force on January 26, 1950.

A new chapter has been added to describe India's struggle for independence, and the accounts of constitutional changes in 1935 have been somewhat abridged. The whole book has been thoroughly revised in order to correct errors and incorporate the results of the latest researches.

The appreciation of this book by the press and the public has exceeded our greatest expectations, and we have spared no pains to make it still more useful, by means of the new material added to this edition.

R.C.M.
H.C.R.C.
K.K.D.

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NOTE ON SECOND EDITION 1951

In preparing this new edition of Part II in its separate form, it has been thought advisable to make the book more self-contained by inserting some introductory material from Part I and an additional chapter, here numbered VA, from Part III. The text also contains the minor corrections and alterations made in the second edition of the complete work.

PART II

MEDIEVAL INDIA

Book I

THE MUSLIM CONQUEST AND THE DELHI SULTĀNATE

INTRODUCTORY

THE PASSING OF THE OLD HINDU KINGDOMS

The Coming of the Arabs

In the western part of Asia lies a vast country called Arabia, a land of rocks and deserts with a few oases and fertile valleys, thinly peopled by a hardy and sturdy folk. In this country, at a short distance from the western sea coast, stands the holy city of Mecca—where sometime in the year 570 was born the great Prophet, the founder of a religion that preached the unity of God, and roused the people to energy and unbounded enthusiasm. Under the successors of the Prophet, called Khalifas or Caliphs, who led the Faithful from A.D. 632, the arms of the Moslems advanced in all directions, and the banner of Islam floated over many countries from Irān to Spain. From the beginning the Arabs had their eyes on the rich ports of Western India and the outlying parts of the north-west borderland. As early as the time of the great Pulakeśin II, an army was sent to Thana near Bombay (*c.* A.D. 637). This was followed by expeditions to Broach, the Gulf of Debal (in Sind), and Al-Kikan (the district round Kelāt). About the middle of the seventh century, the satrapy of Zaranj in Southern Afghānistān fell into the hands of the Arabs. The turn of Makrān in Baluchistān came next. The Arabs now made repeated onslaughts on the Shāh of Kābul, supposed to be a descendant of the great Kanishka, and the *Ratbil* of Zābul in the upper valley of the Helmund river and some adjoining districts. The latter succumbed after a brave struggle (A.D. 870). The Turkī Shāhīya kings of Kābul maintained a precarious existence till the closing years of the ninth century when they were supplanted by Kallār, usually identified with Lalliya, the founder of the Hindu Shāhīya dynasty of Udabhāṇḍa-pura (Waihand, Ohind or Und on the Indus).

Meanwhile, the Arabs had followed up their success in Baluchistān by the conquest of Sind. That province figures in the narrative of Bāṇa as one of the territories overrun by Prabhākaravardhana and his more famous son, Harsha. In the days of Hiuen Tsang the throne was occupied by a Śūdra dynasty which gave way to

a Brāhmaṇa family founded by Chach. Dāhar or Dāhir, son of Chach, was on the throne when al-Hajjaj, governor of Irāk, incensed at the action of certain pirates of Debal, sent several expeditions to Sind. The earlier incursions were repulsed by Dāhir. Thereupon al-Hajjaj entrusted the work of punishing the Indian king to his nephew and son-in-law, Muhammad ibn-Kāsīm. The young commander stormed Debal, captured Nerun and some other cities and strongholds, and pushed on to the western bank of the Indus. His work was greatly facilitated by the treachery of certain Buddhist priests and renegade chiefs who deserted their sovereign and joined the invader. With the assistance of some of these traitors, Muhammad crossed the vast sheet of water separating his army from that of Dāhir and gave battle to the Indian ruler near Raor (A.D. 712). Dāhir offered a brave resistance, but was defeated and killed. The fort of Raor fell next after a heroic defence by the widowed queen. The invaders now pushed on to Bahmanābād and Alor, which submitted. The turn of Multān came next. The whole of the lower Indus valley was now dominated by the Arabs. But the invaders had no mind to stop there. Already in the time of Muhammad ibn-Kāsīm minor operations were carried on in the neighbouring provinces. A later governor, Junaid or Junayd, pursued a more aggressive policy and sent expeditions against Marmad (Marwar ?), al-Mandal (Mandor ? near Viramgam ?), Dahnaj, Barwas (Broach), Ujjain, Malibah (Mālwa), Baharimad, al-Bailaman (Vallamaṇḍala ?) and al-Jurz (Gurjara). According to Indian inscriptions, the territories overrun by the invaders included Sind, Cutch, Surāshṭra or Kāṭhiāwār, Chavoṭaka (some Chāpa principality of Gujarāt or Western Rājputāna), a Maurya principality apparently in southern Rājputāna or Mālwa, and the Gurjjara territory apparently round Bhinmal or Broach. The progress of the Arabs was stopped by the Chalukyas in the south, the Pratihāras in the east, and the Kārkoṭas in the north.

The Fall of the Shāhiya Dynasty of the Udabhāṇḍa

A new scene opened with the foundation of the kingdom of Ghaznī by Alptigīn in or about A.D. 962. Alptigīn was formerly a slave of the Samanid rulers of Central Asia. This enterprising chief made himself independent in Ghaznī and conquered a part of the kingdom of Kābul. He died in A.D. 963. In A.D. 977 his sceptre passed into the hands of his son-in-law, Sabuktigīn. About this time a large part of the territory from Lamghan or Laghman to Kangra acknowledged the sway of Jaipal (Jayapāla) of the Hindu Shāhiya dynasty of Waihand (Udabhāṇḍa-

pur). The Hindu king heard reports from travellers how the Sultan of Ghaznī was encroaching on his dominions in the prosecution of "holy wars". To put a stop to his depredations, he advanced towards Ghaznī and met his enemy near a place called Ghūzak between Ghaznī and Lamghan. A snow-storm compelled Jaipal to conclude a humiliating peace, but he soon broke his engagements and brought on his head the wrath of the Sultān. The latter carried fire and sword into the territory of his antagonist and seized the districts in the neighbourhood of Lamghan. In 997 Sabuktigīn died, and in the next year the crown went to his famous son, Mahmud. In 1001 the new Sultān inflicted a crushing defeat on Jaipal near the city of Peshāwār. Unable to survive this disgrace, the defeated king burnt himself on a funeral pyre and was succeeded by his son, Ānandapāla (A.D. 1002 or 1003). In 1006 Mahmud took Multān, but the final subjugation of the city was postponed till 1010. In 1008 he routed the troops of Ānandapāla, led by prince Brāhmaṇapāla, at the battle of Waihand, and pursued the fugitives as far as Bhimnagar.

Ānandapāla continued to offer resistance from the fastnesses of the Salt Range (Nandana). His successor, Trilochanpāla, carried on the struggle with the assistance of Saṃgrāmarāja of Kāshmīr. In the end he was compelled to retire to the east and conclude an alliance with the Chandella ruler of Kālinjar and other princes of Mid India. But he was again defeated on the river Ruhut (Rāhib) identified by some with the Rāmgaṅgā. He was assassinated in A.D. 1021–1022. With the death of his son and successor, Bhīma, in 1026 the dynasty came to an end. Both al-Biruni and Kalhaṇa bear testimony to the courage and magnanimity of this noble line of kings who poured out their blood like water in defending the north-western gates of their country against the invader.

Mahmud did not remain content with the laurels he won in the Punjab. In 1014 he took Thānesar, and in the following years made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the vale of Kāshmīr. He also burnt the temple of Mathurā. In 1018 he sacked Kanauj and extinguished the once powerful empire of the Pratihāras. In 1022–1023 he received the submission of Gwālior and Kālinjar. His most famous expedition, that against Somnāth in Kāṭhiāwār, was undertaken in 1025. The fall of the most celebrated Hindu shrine of the age in 1026 synchronised with the extinction of the Hindu Shāhiya kingdom of the Punjab. Four years later the Sultān died.

Mahmud's expeditions were mostly in the nature of plundering raids. The only permanent results of his arduous campaigns were

Manat, was one of the three idols which escaped, from Kaaba Lat, Uzza & Manat In India it was called SOMNATH!

the annexation of the Hindu Shāhiya kingdom and certain other districts in the Punjab and the north-west borderland and the destruction of the morale of the Hindu armies. The raids of Mahmud must have made a profound impression on the minds of the great Rājput powers of Western and Central India that sought to divide among themselves the imperial heritage of the Pratihāras. During the period 1030–1192, that is to say from the death of Mahmud to the arrival on the scene of Muhammad of Ghur, the princes of the Indian interior enjoyed comparative immunity from foreign attacks. The Ghaznavid Sultāns now and then harried certain territories, and on one occasion one of their generals advanced up to Benares and sacked the holy city. But on the whole, the invaders could not make much headway. The terror inspired by their ravages had, however, lasting consequences.

CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF THE MUSLIMS

The Arabs in Sind

We have seen in a previous chapter how the Arabs, roused to energy and enthusiasm by a new creed, effected the conquest of Sind and carried on operations in some of the neighbouring provinces.

With the decline of the Caliphs or Khalifahs of Baghdād, supreme leaders and rulers of the greater part of the Islamic world, the Muslim governor of Sind became virtually independent. In A.D. 871 the Khalifah practically handed over the province to the famous Saffarid leader, Ya'qūb-ibn-Lais. On the latter's death, the Muslim territories in Sind were divided between two independent chiefs, those of Mansurah (near Bahmanābād) and Multān. Neither of these ever attained to great power, and both had to live in constant dread of their Indian neighbours, particularly the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj.

The Arab conquest of Sind did not immediately produce any far-reaching political effect, and it has been described by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole as "an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without results". But it is significant from the cultural point of view. Besides helping the exchange of ideas, it facilitated the dissemination of the seeds of Indian culture in foreign lands. The Arabs acquired from the Hindus some new knowledge in Indian Religion, Philosophy, Medicine, Mathematics, Astronomy and Folklore, and carried it not only to their own land but also to Europe. We know definitely from Mas'ūdī and Ibn Hauqal that Arab settlers lived side by side with their Hindu fellow-citizens for many years on terms of amity and peace, and Amīr Khusrav mentions that the Arab astronomer Abū Ma'shar came to Benares and studied astronomy there for ten years.

The Ghaznavids : Sultān Mahmūd

From the political point of view, the conquest of the Punjab by the Sultāns of Ghaznī was of far greater importance

than the establishment of Arab principalities in the lower Indus valley.

Sultān Mahmūd, who carried to fruition the policy of his father, Sabuktigīn, was undoubtedly one of the greatest military leaders the world has ever seen. His cool courage, prudence, resourcefulness and other qualities make him one of the most interesting personalities in Asiatic history. In addition to his victorious expeditions in India he had to his credit two memorable campaigns against hostile Turks in the course of which he routed the hosts of Ilak Khān and the Seljuqs. Great as a warrior, the Sultān was no less eminent as a patron of arts and letters.

But in spite of all this, to the historian of India he appears mainly as an insatiable invader. He was neither a missionary for the propagation of religion in this country nor an architect of empire. The main object of his eastern expeditions seems to have been the acquisition of the "wealth of Ind" and the destruction of the morale of its custodians. The annexation of the Punjab was a measure of necessity rather than of choice. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that his invasions had no permanent political results in India. He drained the wealth of the country and despoiled it of its military resources to an appalling extent. The Ghaznavid occupation of the Punjab served as the key to unlock the gates of the Indian interior. Big cracks were made in the great fabric of Indian polity, and it was no longer a question of whether but when that age-old structure would fall. Neither the Arabs nor the Ghaznavid (Yamīnī) Turks succeeded in adding India to the growing empire of Islam, but they paved the way for that final struggle which overwhelmed the Gangetic kingdoms some two hundred years later.

Muhammad of Ghūr

The empire of Ghaznī began to fall to pieces under the later successors of Sultān Mahmūd, who were too feeble to maintain their position at Ghaznī and in North-West India in the face of the rising power of the princes of Ghūr, a small obscure principality in the mountainous region of Afghānistān to the south-east of Herat. The petty chiefs of Ghūr, of eastern Persian extraction, were originally feudatories of Ghaznī, but, taking advantage of the weakness of their suzerains, they steadily rose to power and entered into a contest with them for supremacy. In the course of this contest, Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad of Ghūr, and his brother Saif-ud-dīn, were cruelly executed by Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznī.

'Alā-ud-dīn Husain, a brother of the victims, took a terrible revenge on Ghaznī by sacking the city and giving it to the flames for seven days and nights. This action earned for 'Alā-ud-dīn the title of *Jahānsūz*, "the world-burner". Bahrām's son and feeble successor, Khusrav Shāh, was driven from Ghaznī by a horde of the Ghuzz tribe of Turkmāns and fled to the Punjab, then the sole remnant of the wide dominions of his ancestors. Ghaznī remained in possession of the Ghuzz Turkmāns for about ten years, after which it was occupied by the princes of Ghūr. Saif-ud-dīn Muhammad, son and successor of the "world-burner", was killed in fighting against the Ghuzz Turkmāns; but his cousin and successor, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muhammad, drove the Ghuzz Turkmāns from Ghaznī in 1173 and appointed his younger brother, Shihāb-ud-dīn, also known as Mu'iz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām or popularly called Muhammad of Ghūr, governor of that province. Very cordial relations existed between the two brothers, and Muhammad of Ghūr began his Indian campaigns while still a lieutenant of his brother.

The first Indian expedition of Muhammad of Ghūr (A.D. 1175), directed against his co-religionists, the Ismā'īlan heretics of Multān, was attended with success, and he soon captured the strong fortress of Uch by a stratagem. But his invasion of Gujarāt in A.D. 1178 proved a failure; the *rājā* of Gujarāt inflicted a terrible defeat on him. Nevertheless, he occupied Peshāwār in the following year and established a fortress at Śiālkoṭ in A.D. 1181. By allying himself with Vijaya Dev, the *rājā* of Jammu, against Khusrav Malik, son and successor of Khusrav Shāh and the last representative of the dynasty of Sabuktigīn and Sultān Mahmūd, then in possession of Lahore only, he captured the Ghaznavid ruler and took him prisoner to Ghaznī. Thus disappeared the rule of the Ghaznavids in the Punjab. Its occupation by Muhammad of Ghūr opened the way for his further conquest of India, which, however, made inevitable a conflict with the Rājputs, particularly with his neighbour, Prithvirāj, the powerful Chauhān king of Ajmer and Delhi.

The political condition of Northern India had changed considerably since the days of Sultān Mahmūd. Though a part of Bihār was in the possession of the Buddhist Pālas, Bengal had passed under the control of the Hindu dynasty of the Senas. Bundelkhand remained under the rule of the Chandellas, but the Pratihāras in Kanauj were displaced by the Gāhaḍavālas. Delhi and Ajmer were under the Chauhāns. Jaichānd or Jayachchandra, the Gāhaḍavāla ruler of Kanauj, who lived mostly at Benares, was considered

by the Muslim writers to be the greatest king of India at the time; and, if Tod is to be believed, he was jealous of Prithvirāj's proud position. His beautiful daughter is said to have been carried away by the Chauhān hero, and the story of this romance has formed the theme of many of the bardic songs of the time. This is said to have added to the bitterness of their relations so that Jaichānd did not ally himself with Prithvirāj when Muhammad of Ghūr appeared on the scene. There is no reason, however, to believe that Jaichānd invited Muhammad of Ghūr to invade India. The invasion of this country was an almost inevitable corollary to Muhammad's complete victory over the Ghaznavids in the Punjab.

When, in the winter of 1190–1191, Muhammad of Ghūr marched beyond the Punjab, Prithvirāj, the bold and chivalrous hero of the Rājputs, who were in no way inferior in bravery and courage to the invaders, advanced to oppose him with a large army, including, according to Ferishta, 200,000 horse and 3,000 elephants. Prithvirāj had the support of many of his fellow Rājput princes, but Jaichānd held aloof. The Ghūrī invader stood in the middle of his army with two wings on both sides and met the Rājputs at Tarāin near Thānesar in A.D. 1191. Fighting with their usual vigour, the Rājputs greatly harassed the Muslim troops, who were soon overpowered, and their leader, being severely wounded, retired to Ghaznī. But Muhammad did not become disheartened at this initial failure. He soon raised a strong army with a view to avenging his defeat, and with adequate preparations, invaded India once again in 1192 and met his Rājput adversary on the same field. By superior tactics and generalship, the invading army inflicted a severe defeat on the Rājputs. Prithvirāj was captured and put to death, and his brother was also slain. This victory of Muhammad was decisive. It laid the foundation of Muslim dominion in Northern India; and the subsequent attempts of the relatives of Prithvirāj to recover their lost power proved to be of no avail. Different parts of Northern India were conquered in the course of a few years by Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, the most faithful of Muhammad's Turkish officers, and Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Muhammad.

Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak was originally a slave of Turkestān. In his childhood he was brought by a merchant to Nīshāpūr, where its Qāzī, Fakhr-ud-dīn 'Abdul 'Azīz Kufi, purchased him and provided for his religious and military training along with his sons. After the Qāzī's death, he was sold by the Qāzī's sons to a merchant, who took him to Ghaznī, where he was purchased by Muhammad of Ghūr. Thus Qutb-ud-dīn began his career as a slave, and

the dynasty founded by him in India is known as the "Slave dynasty."[1]

Qutb-ud-dīn was "endowed with all laudable qualities and admirable impressions" though "he possessed no outward comeliness". His qualities gained for him the confidence of Muhammad of Ghūr, who soon raised him to the post of *Amīr-i-Ākhur* (Lord of the stables). He rendered valuable services to his master during his Indian expeditions, in recognition of which he was placed in charge of his Indian conquests after the second battle of Tarāin in 1192. He was left "untrammelled not only in his administration of the new conquests, but also in his discretion to extend them".

To strengthen his own position, Qutb-ud-dīn contracted matrimonial alliances with the powerful rival chiefs; thus while he himself married Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz's daughter, his sister was married to Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabācha and his daughter to Iltutmish. Qutb-ud-dīn justified the confidence which his master had reposed in him. In 1192 he captured Hānsī, Meerut, Delhi, Ranthambhor and Koīl. In 1194 he helped his master in defeating and slaying Jaichānd, *rājā* of Benares and Kanauj, at Chandwār on the Jumnā in the Etāwah district. In 1197 he chastised Bhīmdev II of Gujarāt, for his having caused him some trouble, plundered his capital and returned to Delhi by way of Hānsī. In 1202 he besieged the fortress of Kālinjar in Bundelkhand, overpowered its defenders and captured vast booty from them. Fifty thousand people, male and female, were made prisoners. He next marched to the city of Mahoba, took possession of it and returned to Delhi by way of Badāūn, one of the richest cities of Hindustān, which also was occupied. Meanwhile, Bihār and a part of Western Bengal had been added to the empire of Ghūr by Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyār Khaljī, who had driven Lakshmaṇa Sena from Nadiā possibly to Eastern Bengal,[2] to a place near Dacca, where the Sena

[1] This description of Qutb-ud-dīn's dynasty is inaccurate. None but three kings (Qutb-ud-dīn, Iltutmish and Balban) of this dynasty were slaves, and even these three were manumitted by their masters. Qutb-ud-dīn received a letter of manumission and a canopy of state from Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the nephew and successor of his master, Muhammad of Ghūr, before his elevation to the throne of Delhi (Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, pp. 524–5); and Iltutmish was freed before his master (ibid., pp. 605–6). Balban, who belonged to the "forty Turkish slaves of Iltutmish", got his freedom along with them (Ziā Barnī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*). It is also incorrect to describe the dynasty as the "Pathān" or "Afghān" dynasty, because all these rulers were neither "Pathāns" nor "Afghāns" but Turks.

[2] Authorities differ in their opinions regarding the date of the capture of Nadiā by the Muslims. According to Raverty, it was effected in A.H. 590 = A.D. 1193 (op. cit., Vol. I, p. 588 f.n.) but this date was rejected

power survived for more than half a century, and had made Gaur or Lakhnautī, in the modern Māldah district, the seat of his government. Thus by the beginning of the thirteenth century, a considerable part of Hindustān, extending from the Indus in the west to the Ganges in the east, had been conquered by Muslim arms. But the consolidation of Muslim rule required a few years more.

On the death of his elder brother Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muhammad in February, 1203, Mu'iz-ud-dīn Muhammad became the ruler of Ghaznī, Ghūr and Delhi in name, which he had been so long in reality. But soon his position was endangered by some disasters. In 1205 he sustained a defeat near Andkhūī in Central Asia at the hands of 'Alā-ud-dīn Muhammad, the Shāh of Khwārazm, which dealt a severe blow at his military prestige in India and stirred up revolts and conspiracies in different parts of his kingdom. He was refused admittance to Ghaznī; Multān was seized by a Ghaznī officer, and his old enemies, the Khokars, created troubles in the Punjab. But with great zeal and promptitude, Mu'iz-ud-dīn Muhammad marched to India, suppressed the rebellions everywhere, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Khokars in November, 1205. His days, however, were numbered. On his way from Lahore to Ghaznī, he was stabbed to death at Damyak on the 15th March, 1206, by a band of assassins whose identity has not been precisely determined. Some writers attribute the deed to the Khokars, who had been so recently deprived of their homes, while, according to others, he was killed by some Muslim enthusiasts of the Ismā'īlī sect. A legend of the Rājputs, mentioned also by a Muslim historian, attributes his death to their hero, Prithvirāj, who, according to it, had not been slain at the second battle of Tarāin but was blinded and remained a captive. The body of the murdered Sultān was taken to Ghaznī and buried there.

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by Blochmann with cogent arguments (*J.A.S.B.*, Pt. I, pp. 275–7). The views of Edward Thomas that Nadiā fell in A.H. 599 = A.D. 1202–1203 (*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 110) and of Charles Stewart (*History of Bengal*, p. 47) that it was captured in A.H. 600 = A.D. 1203–1204 are in conflict with the facts of contemporary history. A recent writer considers the theory of Blochmann that Nadiā was captured in A.H. 594–595 = A.D. 1197–1198, to be "the most plausible one" (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, March 1936, pp. 148–51).

CHAPTER II

THE SO-CALLED SLAVE DYNASTY AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF MUSLIM POWER IN NORTHERN INDIA

1. Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak and Ārām Shāh

MUHAMMAD of Ghūr left no male heirs to succeed him, and his provincial viceroys soon established their own authority in their respective jurisdictions. Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz, Governor of Kirmān, ascended the throne of Ghaznī, while Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak assumed the title of Sultān and was acknowledged as the ruler of the Indian territories by the Muslim officers in India like Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn of Bengal and Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabācha, Governor of Multān and Uch. Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak's rise excited the jealousy of Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz, who entered into a contest with him for the mastery over the Punjab. Qutb-ud-dīn defeated Yildiz, drove him out of Ghaznī and occupied it for forty days. But the people of Ghaznī, disgusted with his excesses, secretly invited Yildiz to come to their rescue. Yildiz did not fail to avail himself of this opportunity, and on his sudden and unexpected return to Ghaznī, Qutb-ud-dīn fled away precipitately. This destroyed the chance of a political union between Afghānistān and India, which was not achieved till Bābur's occupation of Delhi, and Qutb-ud-dīn became a purely Indian Sultān. He died at Lahore, early in November, A.D. 1210, in consequence of a fall from his horse while playing *Chaugān* or polo, after a short reign of a little more than four years.

Qutb-ud-dīn was, remarks Minhāj-us-Sirāj, a "high-spirited and open-hearted monarch". Endowed with intrepidity and martial prowess, he rarely lost a battle, and, by his extensive conquests, brought a large part of Hindustān under the banner of Islam. His "gifts were bestowed by hundreds of thousands"[1], and, for his unbounded generosity, he has been styled by all writers as *Lakh bakhsh*, or giver of lacs. Hasan-un-Nizāmī, the author of *Tāj-ul-Ma'āsir*, who is full of praise for Qutb-ud-dīn, writes that he "dispensed even-handed justice to the people, and exerted himself to promote the peace and prosperity of the realm". But the

[1] His contemporary, Lakshmaṇa Sena of Bengal, was also known for his lavish generosity.

Sultān felt no hesitation in having recourse to stern measures in his conquests and administration when necessary. His devotion to Islam was remarkable. Thus Hasan-un-Nizāmī remarks: "By his orders the precepts of Islam received great promulgation, and the sun of righteousness cast its shadow on the countries of Hind from the heaven of God's assistance." He gave proof of his zeal by building one mosque at Delhi and another at Ajmer.

On the sudden death of Qutb-ud-dīn at Lahore, the *Amīrs* and *Maliks* of Lahore set up Ārām Bakhsh as his successor with the title of Sultān Ārām Shāh, "for the sake of restraining tumult, for the tranquillity of the commonalty, and the content of the hearts of the soldiery". The relationship of Ārām with Qutb-ud-dīn is a subject of controversy. According to some, he was Qutb-ud-dīn's son, but Minhāj-us-Sirāj distinctly writes that Qutb-ud-dīn only had three daughters. Abul Fazl has made the "astonishing statement" that he was the Sultān's brother. A modern writer has hazarded the opinion that "he was no relation of Qutb-ud-dīn" but was selected as his successor as he was available on the spot.[1] In fact, there were no fixed rules governing the succession to the Crown in the Turkish State. It was determined largely by the exigencies of the moment and the influence of the chiefs and the nobles. Ārām was ill-qualified to govern a kingdom. The nobles of Delhi soon conspired against him and invited Malik Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish, then Governor of Badāūn, to replace Ārām. Iltutmish responded to their call, and, advancing with all his army, defeated Ārām in the plain of Jūd near Delhi. What became of Ārām is not quite certain.

2. Iltutmish

Iltutmish belonged to the tribe of Ilbarī in Turkestān. He was remarkably handsome in appearance, and showed signs of intelligence and sagacity from his early days, which excited the jealousy of his brothers, who managed to deprive him of his paternal home and care. But adversity did not mar his qualities, which soon opened a career for him. His accomplishments attracted the notice of Qutb-ud-dīn, then Viceroy of Delhi, who purchased him at a high price. By dint of his merits, Iltutmish raised his status step by step till he was made the Governor of Badāūn and was married to a daughter of Qutb-ud-dīn. In recognition of his services during the campaign of Muhammad of Ghūr against the Khokars, he was, by the Sultān's orders, manumitted and elevated as Amīr-ul-Umarā.

[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1937, p. 120.

Thus the choice of the Delhi nobles fell on a worthy man. But on his accession in the year A.D. 1210 or 1211, Iltutmish found himself confronted with an embarrassing situation. Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabācha had asserted his independence in Sind and seemed desirous of extending his authority over the Punjab; and Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz, who held Ghaznī, still entertained his old pretensions to sovereignty over the Indian conquests of Muhammad. 'Ālī Mardān, a Khaljī noble, who had been appointed Governor of Bengal by Qutb-ud-dīn after the death of Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn in A.D. 1206, had thrown off his allegiance to Delhi after Qutb-ud-dīn's death and had styled himself Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn. Further, the Hindu princes and chiefs were seething with discontent at their loss of independence; Gwālior and Ranthambhor had been recovered by their rulers during the weak rule of Ārām Shāh. To add to Iltutmish's troubles, some of the Amīrs of Delhi expressed resentment against his rule.

The new Sultān, however, faced the situation boldly. He first effectively suppressed a rebellion of the Amīrs in the plain of Jūd near Delhi, and then brought under his control the different parts of the kingdom of Delhi with its dependencies like Badāūn, Oudh, Benares and Siwālik. The ambitious designs of his rivals were also frustrated. In A.D. 1214 Tāj-ud-dīn Yildiz, being driven from Ghaznī by Sultān Muhammad, the Shāh of Khwārazm, fled to Lahore, conquered the Punjab up to Thānesar and tried to establish his independent power and even to assert his authority over Iltutmish. This was what Iltutmish could hardly tolerate. He promptly marched against his rival, and defeated him in a battle fought near Tarāin in January, A.D. 1216. Yildiz was taken prisoner and sent to Badāūn. Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabācha, who had in the meanwhile advanced to Lahore, was expelled from that city by Iltutmish in A.D. 1217. He was completely subdued in February, A.D. 1228, and was accidentally drowned in the Indus, Sind being annexed to the Delhi Sultānate. About a year later, Iltutmish received a robe of honour and a patent of investiture from Al Mustansir Billah, the reigning Caliph or Khalifah of Baghdād, confirming him in the possession "of all the land and sea which he had conquered" as *Sultān-i-Āzam* (Great Sultān). This added a new element of strength to Iltutmish's authority and gave him a status in the Muslim world. Further, "it fastened the fiction of Khalifat on the Sultānate of Delhi, and involved legally the recognition of the final sovereignty of the Khalifah, an authority outside the geographical limits of India, but inside that vague yet none the less real brotherhood of Islam". On his coins Iltutmish

described himself as the lieutenant of the Caliph. His coins, remarks Thomas, "constituted the veritable commencement of the silver coinage of the Delhi Pathāns".

Meanwhile, Ranthambhor had been recovered by Iltutmish in A.D. 1226 and a year later Mandāwar in the Siwālik hills was captured by him. The Khaljī Maliks of Bengal were reduced to complete submission in the winter of A.D. 1230–1231, and 'Alā-ud-dīn Jānī was appointed Governor of Lakhnautī. Gwālior, which had regained its independence since the death of Qutb-ud-dīn, was recaptured by the Sultān towards the end of A.D. 1232 from its Hindu Rājā, Mangal Deva. The Sultān invaded the kingdom of Mālwa in 1234, and captured the fort of Bhīlsa. He next marched to the famous city of Ujjain, which was also captured and sacked. An image of the famous Vikramāditya was carried off to Delhi. The last expedition of Iltutmish was directed against Banian[1], but on his way he was attacked with such a severe illness that he had to be carried back to Delhi in a litter. This disease proved fatal and he expired on the 29th April, 1236, after a reign of twenty-six years.

It was during the reign of Iltutmish, in the year A.D. 1221, that the Mongols appeared for the first time on the banks of the Indus, under their celebrated leader Chingīz Khān. Chingīz was born in A.D. 1155 and his original name was Temuchīn. He was not merely a conqueror. Being trained in the school of adversity during his early days, he developed in himself the virtues of patience, courage and self-reliance, which enabled him to organise in an empire "the barbarous tribal communities of Central Asia and to found laws and institutions which lasted for generations after his death". He overran the countries of Central and Western Asia with lightning rapidity, and when he attacked Jalāl-ud-dīn Mangabarnī, the last Shāh of Khwārazm or Khiva, the latter fled to the Punjab and sought asylum in the dominions of Iltutmish. The Sultān of Delhi refused to comply with the request of his unwelcome guest. Mangabarnī entered into an alliance with the Khokars, and after defeating Nāsir-ud-dīn Qabācha of Multān, plundered Sind and northern Gujarāt and went away to Persia. The Mongols also retired. India was thus saved from a terrible calamity, but the menace of Mongol raids disturbed the Sultāns of Delhi in subsequent times.

[1] Situated, according to Raverty (p. 623, f.n. 8), in the hill tracts of the Sind-Sāgar Doāb, or in the country immediately west of the Salt Range. Badāūnī (Ranking, Vol. I, p. 95), and Ferishta (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 211), borrowing from Nizām-ud-dīn, write Multān, but they are wrong.

Iltutmish may justly be regarded as the greatest ruler of the Early Turkish Sultānate of Delhi, which lasted till A.D. 1290. To him belongs the credit of having saved the infant Muslim dominion in India from disruption and of having consolidated the conquests of Qutb-ud-dīn into a strong and compact monarchy extending at his death over the whole of Hindustān, with the exception of a few outlying provinces. An intrepid warrior and a stern chastiser of foes, he was busy till the last year of his life in military conquests. He was at the same time gifted with brilliant qualities as a man and extended his patronage to arts and letters. The completion of the structure of the famous Qutb Minār at Delhi by the Sultān in A.D. 1231–1232 stands as an imperishable testimony to his greatness. The column was named not after the first Turkish Sultān of Delhi, as some writers wrongly hold, but after Khwāja Qutb-ud-dīn, a native of Ush near Baghdād, who had come to live in Hindustān and was held in much esteem and veneration by Iltutmish and others. It was out of gratitude that Iltutmish caused the names of his patrons, Sultān Qutb-ud-dīn and Sultān Mu'iz-ud-dīn, to be inscribed on it. A magnificent mosque was also built by the Sultān's orders. He was intensely religious and very particular about saying his prayers. "Never has a sovereign," writes Minhāj-us-Sirāj, "so virtuous, kind-hearted and reverent towards the learned and the divines, sat upon the throne." He is described in some contemporary inscriptions as "the protector of the lands of God", "the helper of the servants of God", etc.

3. Raziyya

Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the eldest son of Iltutmish, died in April, A.D. 1229, while governing Bengal as his father's deputy. The surviving sons of the Sultān were incapable of the task of administration. Iltutmish, therefore, nominated on his death-bed his daughter Raziyya as his heiress. But the nobles of his court were too proud to bow their heads before a woman, and disregarding the deceased Sultān's wishes, raised to the throne his eldest surviving son, Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz, who had been in charge of the government of Badāūn and, after a few years, of Lahore, during his father's lifetime. This was an unfortunate choice. Rukn-ud-dīn was unfit to rule. He indulged in low tastes, neglected the affairs of state, and squandered away its wealth. Matters were made worse by the activities of his mother, Shāh Turkhān, an ambitious woman of humble origin,[1] who seized all power while her son remained

[1] She was originally a Turkish handmaid.

immersed in enjoyment. The whole kingdom was plunged into disorder, and the authority of the central government was set at naught in Badāūn, Multān, Hānsī, Lahore, Oudh and Bengal. The nobles of Delhi, who had been seething with discontent about the undue influence of the queen-mother, made her a prisoner and placed Raziyya on the throne of Delhi. Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz, who had taken refuge at Kilokhrī, was also put in prison, where he met his doom on the 9th November, A.D. 1236.

The task before the young queen was not an easy one. Muhammad Junaidī, the *wazīr* of the kingdom, and some other nobles, could not reconcile themselves to the rule of a woman and organised an opposition against her. But Raziyya was not devoid of the virtues necessary in a ruler, and by astuteness and superior diplomacy she soon overpowered her enemies. Her authority was established over Hindustān and the Punjab, and the governors of the distant provinces of Bengal and Sind also acknowledged her sway. Thus, as Minhāj-us-Sirāj has stated, "From Lakhnautī to Debal and Damrilah all the Maliks and Amīrs manifested their obedience and submission". During the early part of Raziyya's reign, an organised attempt to create trouble was made by some heretics of the Qirāmitah and Mulāhidah sects, under the leadership of a Turk named Nūr-ud-dīn. One thousand of them arrived with swords and shields, and entered the Great Mosque on a fixed day, but they were dispersed by the royal troops and the outbreak ended in a ludicrous fiasco.

The queen was not, however, destined to enjoy a peaceful reign. The undue favour shown by her to the Abyssinian slave Jalāl-ud-dīn Yāqūt, who was elevated to the post of master of the stables, offended the Turkish nobles,[1] who were organised in a close corporation. The first to revolt openly was Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Altūniya, the governor of Sarhind, who was secretly instigated by some nobles

[1] Ibn Batūtah wrongly states that her "fondness" for the Abyssinian was "criminal". No such allegation is made by the contemporary Muslim chronicler, Minhāj; he simply writes that the Abyssinian "acquired favour in attendance upon the Sultān" (Raverty, Vol. I, p. 642). Ferishta's only allegation against her is that "a very great degree of familiarity was observed to exist between the Abyssinian and the Queen, so much so, that when she rode he always lifted her on horse by raising her up under the arms" (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 220). As Major Raverty has pointed out, Thomas has assailed the character of this princess without just cause in the following terms: "It was not that a virgin Queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged in a submissive Prince Consort, or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the Palace Harem, but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction, and led her to prefer a person employed about her Court, an Abyssinian moreover, the favours extended to whom the Turkī nobles resented with one accord" (*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 106).

of the court. The queen marched with a large army to suppress the revolt, but in the conflict that ensued the rebel nobles slew Yāqūt, and imprisoned her. She was placed in charge of Altūniya, and her brother Mu'iz-ud-dīn Bahrām was proclaimed Sultān of Delhi. Raziyya tried to extricate herself from the critical situation by marrying Altūniya, but to no effect. She marched with her husband towards Delhi, but on arriving near Kaithal she was deserted by the followers of Altūniya and defeated on the 13th October, 1240, by Mu'iz-ud-dīn Bahrām. She was put to death with her husband the next day. Thus the life of the queen Raziyya ended miserably after a reign of three years, and a few royal months.

Raziyya was possessed of remarkable talents. Ferishta writes that "she read the Koran with correct pronunciation, and in her father's lifetime employed herself in the affairs of the Government". As a queen, she tried to display her virtues more prominently. According to the contemporary Muslim chronicler, Minhāj-us-Sirāj, she "was a great sovereign, sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the cherisher of her subjects, and of warlike talent, and was endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for Kings". She marched in person against her enemies, set aside female garments, discarded the veil, "donned the tunic and assumed the head-dress of a man" and conducted the affairs of her Government with considerable ability in open *darbār*. Thus she endeavoured to "play the king" in all possible ways. But the proud Turkish nobles could not reconcile themselves to the rule of a woman and brought about her downfall in an ignominious manner. The tragic end of Raziyya clearly shows that it is not always very easy to overcome popular prejudice.

The removal of Raziyya was followed by a period of disorder and confusion. Her successors on the throne of Delhi, Mu'iz-ud-dīn Bahrām and 'Alā-ud-dīn Ma'sūd, were worthless and incompetent, and during the six years of their rule the country knew no peace and tranquillity. Foreign invasions added to the woes of Hindustān. In A.D. 1241 the Mongols entered into the heart of the Punjab, and the fair city of Lahore "fell into their merciless grip". In 1245 they advanced up to Uch but were repulsed with great loss. During the closing years of the reign of Ma'sūd Shāh discontent grew in volume and intensity. The Amīrs and Maliks raised to the throne Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, a younger son of Iltutmish, on 10th June, 1246.

4. Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd

Nāsir-ud-dīn was a man of amiable and pious disposition. He was an expert calligraphist and spent his leisure moments in copying the Quran. He was also a patron of the learned. Minhāj-us-Sirāj, who held a high post under the Sultān and received various costly presents from him, dedicated his *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* to his royal patron.

As a ruler, Nāsir-ud-dīn's abilities fell far short of what the prevailing complicated situation demanded. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, his minister, and later on his deputy, was the real power behind the throne. Balban proved himself worthy of the confidence thus reposed in him. He did his best to save the State from the perils of internal rebellions and external invasions. The attacks of the Mongols were repelled, and several expeditions were led into the Doāb and other parts of the kingdom to chastise the rebellious Rājās and Zamindārs. A party of nobles, opposed to Balban, induced the Sultān to exile him in 1253. But his enemies mismanaged the affairs of the State, and he was recalled and restored to supreme authority in A.D. 1255. Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd died on the 18th February, 1266, leaving no male heir behind him. Thus was extinguished the line of Iltutmish. Balban, a man of proved ability, whom the deceased Sultān is said to have designated as his successor, then ascended the throne with the acquiescence of the nobles and the officials.

5. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban

Like his predecessors on the throne of Delhi, Balban was descended from the famous Ilbarī tribe of Turkestān. In his early youth, he was taken as a captive to Baghdād by the Mongols, from whom he was purchased by Khwāja Jamāl-ud-dīn of Bussorah, a man of piety and learning. Khwāja Jamāl-ud-dīn brought him to Delhi in A.D. 1232 along with his other slaves, all of whom were purchased by Sultān Iltutmish. Thus Balban belonged to the famous band of Turkish slaves of Iltutmish, known as "The Forty" (*Chāhelgān*). He was originally appointed a *Khasdār* (King's personal attendant) by Iltutmish. But by dint of merit and ability, he rose by degrees to higher positions and ranks, till he became the deputy of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd and his daughter was married to the Sultān in A.D. 1249.

Balban was confronted with a formidable and difficult task on his accession. During the thirty years following the death of

Iltutmish, the affairs of the State had fallen into confusion through the incompetence of his successors. The treasury of the Delhi Sultānate had become almost empty, and its prestige had sunk low, while the ambition and arrogance of the Turkish nobles had increased. In short, as Barnī writes, "Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of all States, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition". To add to the evil of internal bankruptcy, the Delhi Sultānate was exposed to the menace of recurring Mongol raids. Thus, a strong dictator was the need of the hour.

An experienced administrator, Balban eagerly applied himself to the task of eradicating the evils from which the State had been suffering for a long time. He justly realised that a strong and efficient army was an essential requisite for the stability of his government. He therefore set himself to the task of reorganising the armed forces. "The cavalry and the infantry, both old and new, were placed under the command" of experienced and faithful officers (*maliks*). He next turned his attention towards restoring order in the Doāb and the neighbourhood of Delhi, which had been exposed, for the last thirty years of weak rule, to the predatory raids of the Rājputs of Mewāt (the district round Ālwar) and different robber bands. Life, property and commerce had become unsafe. The Sultān drove away the Mewātīs from the jungles in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and put many of them to the sword. He also took precautionary steps against any future disturbances by building a fort at Gopālgir and by establishing several posts near the city of Delhi in charge of Afghān officers. In the next year (1267), Balban suppressed the brigands in the Doāb. He personally rode to their strongholds at Kampil, Patiālī and Bhojpur. He built strong forts in those places and also repaired the fort of Jalālī. Thus order and security were restored, and sixty years later Barnī remarked that "the roads have ever since been free from robbers". In the same year he punished the rebels in Katehr (now in Rohilkhand). After a few days he marched into the mountains of Jūd and suppressed the hill tribes there.

In pursuance of his policy of curbing the power of the nobles, Balban tried to regulate the tenure of lands in the Doāb enjoyed by 2,000 *Shamsī* horsemen since the time of Iltutmish on condition of military service. We know from Barnī that most of the original grantees had died or grown infirm by this time, and their descendants had "taken possession of the grants as an inheritance from their fathers, and had caused their names to be recorded in records of

the *Ariz* (Muster-master)", though there was a general tendency on their part to evade service in the field. Balban tried to remove this abuse by a moderate dose of reform. He resumed the old grants but allotted subsistence allowances to the grantees according to their age. This caused discontent among the grantees, who represented their case to the old Fakhr-ud-dīn, *Kotwāl* of Delhi, who persuaded the Sultān by an emotional speech to rescind the orders for the resumption of lands. Thus feelings triumphed over prudence, and an old abuse was allowed to remain as a sort of drain on the resources of the State.

While thus trying to make his government firm and stable within, Balban did not fail to think of protecting the north-west frontier against the invasions of the Mongols. The latter, having established their power in Ghaznī and Transoxiana and captured Baghdād after murdering the Caliph, Al Mu'tasim, advanced into the Punjab and Sind. In the year 1271 the Sultān marched to Lahore and ordered the reconstruction of the fort, which had been destroyed by the Mongols during the preceding reigns. For long the Sultān's cousin, Sher Khān Sunqar, an able servant of the State, who held the fiefs of Bhātinda, Bhatnair, Sāmāna and Sunām, "had been a great barrier to the inroads of the Mongols". But the Sultān was suspicious of him, as he was one of "The Forty" and had avoided coming to Delhi since his accession. He died about this time, and Barnī writes that "the Sultān caused him to be poisoned". If Barnī's statement be true, then Balban's action was not only bad but also impolitic. Sher Khān had defended the frontier with remarkable ability and had also brought under control various defiant tribes. His death now encouraged the Mongols to ravage the frontier tracts. To check their depredations the Sultān appointed his eldest son, Prince Muhammad (popularly known as *Khān-i-Shahīd*, the Martyr Prince), governor of Multān. Prince Muhammad was a man of moderate habits, endowed with courage and ability, and a generous patron of letters. At the same time the Sultān placed his second son, Bughrā Khān, in charge of the territories of Sāmāna and Sunām, instructing him to strengthen his army to check the apprehended incursions of the Mongols. About the year 1279 the marauders actually renewed their raids and even crossed the Sutlej. But they were completely routed by the combined troops of Prince Muhammad coming from Multān, of Bughrā Khān coming from Sāmāna, and of Malik Mubārak Bektars coming from Delhi. Thus the Mongol menace was warded off for the time being.

In the same year another danger threatened Balban from the

rich province of Bengal, the distance of which often tempted its governors to defy the authority of Delhi, especially when it grew weak. This was the rebellion of Tughril Khān, the Sultān's deputy in Bengal. Tughril was an active, courageous and generous Turk and his administration in Bengal was marked with success. But ambition soon gained possession of his mind. The old age of the Delhi Sultān, and the recrudescence of Mongol raids on the north-west frontier, encouraged him to raise the standard of revolt at the instigation of some counsellors.

The rebellion of Tughril Khān greatly perturbed Balban, who at once sent a large army to Bengal under the command of Alptigīn *Mu-i-darāz* (long-haired), entitled Amīr Khān. But Amīr Khān was defeated by the rebel governor and many of his troops were won over by the latter by lavish gifts. The Sultān became so much enraged at the defeat of Amīr Khān that he ordered him to be hanged over the gate of Delhi. Next year (1280) another army was sent to Bengal under Malik Targhī, but this expedition, too, was repulsed by Tughril. Highly exasperated at this turn of affairs, Balban "now devoted all his attention and energy to effect the defeat of Tughril". He decided to march in person to Lakhnautī, the capital of Western Bengal, with a powerful army, accompanied by his son, Bughrā Khān. In the meanwhile, Tughril, on learning of the approach of the infuriated Sultān, had left Lakhnautī and fled into the jungles of Jājnagar. The Sultān advanced into Eastern Bengal in pursuit of the runaway rebel and his comrades, who were accidentally discovered by a follower of Balban named Sher Andāz. Another of his followers, named Malik Muqaddir, soon brought Tughril down with an arrow-shot; his head was cut off and his body was flung into the river. His relatives and most of his troops were captured. On returning to Lakhnautī the Sultān inflicted exemplary punishments on the relatives and adherents of Tughril. Before leaving Bengal he appointed his second son, Bughrā Khān, governor of the province, and instructed him not to indulge in pleasure but to be careful in the work of administration.

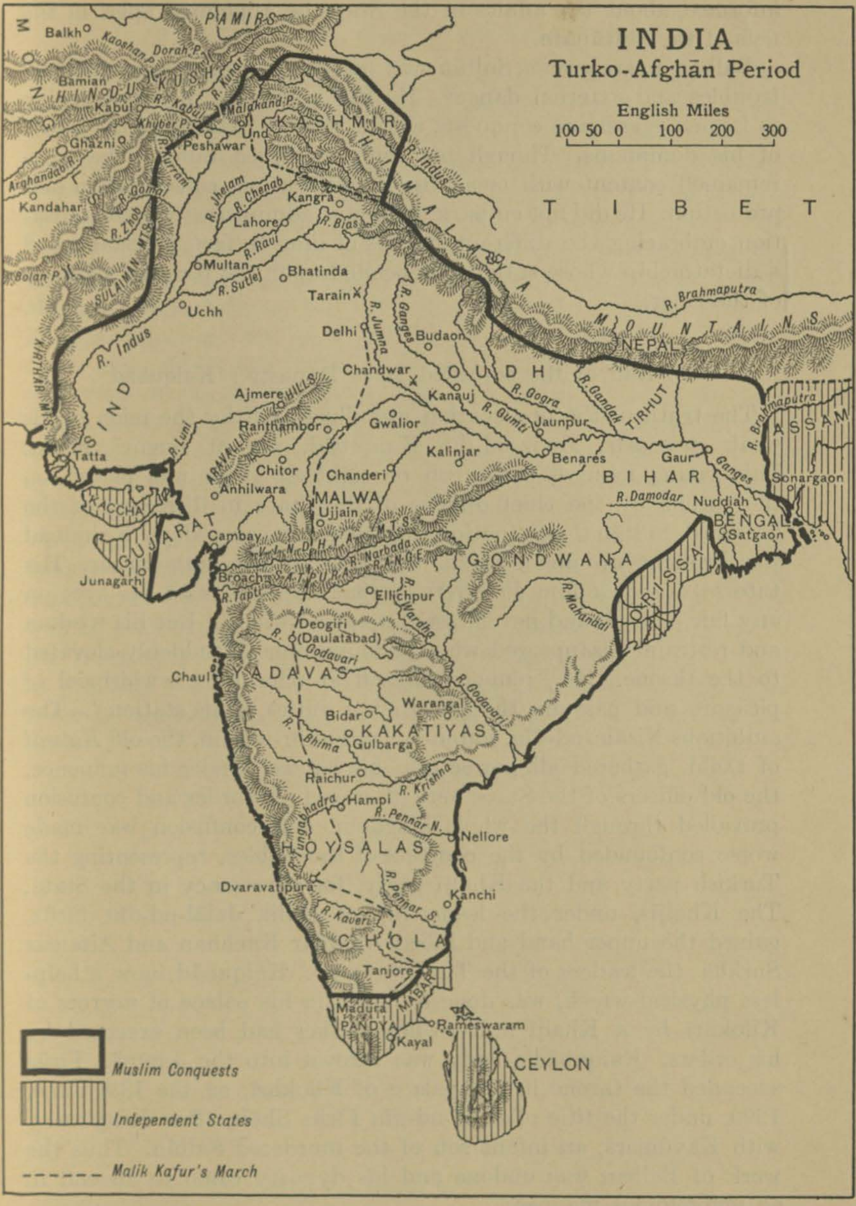
Soon a great calamity befell the Sultān. The Mongols invaded the Punjab in A.D. 1285 under their leader Tamar, and the Sultān's eldest son, Prince Muhammad, who had been placed in charge of Multān, proceeded towards Lahore and Dīpālpur. He was killed in an ambush, while fighting with the Mongols, on the 9th March, A.D. 1285. This sacrifice of life earned for him the posthumous title of *Shahīd*, "the Martyr". The death of this excellent prince gave a terrible shock to the old Sultān, then eighty years of age.

It cast him into a state of deep depression and hastened his death. The Sultān first intended to nominate Bughrā Khān as his successor, But the latter's unwillingness to accept the responsibilities of kingship made him nominate Kai Khusrav, his grandson. Balban breathed his last towards the close of the year A.D. 1287 after a reign of about twenty-two years.

As has already been noted, the Delhi Sultānate was beset with danger and difficulties at the time of Balban's accession, which could not be removed, to borrow Carlyle's phrase, "by mere rose-water surgery". The Sultān, therefore, adopted a policy of sternness and severity to those whom he considered to be the enemies of the State. It must be admitted to his credit that, by his firmness towards ambitious nobles, rebel subjects and unruly tribes, and by his constant vigilance against the Mongols, he saved the Sultānate from impending disintegration and gave it strength and efficiency. But in two cases, that is in doing away with Sher Khān and Amīr Khān, suspicion and anger triumphed over prudence and foresight. Referring to the death of Amīr Khān, Barnī observes that his "condign punishment excited a strong feeling of opposition among the wise men of the day, who looked upon it as a token that the reign of Balban was drawing to an end".

Balban did his best to raise the prestige and majesty of the Delhi Sultānate. After his accession to the throne, he adopted a dignified mode of living. He remodelled his court after the manner of the old Persian kings and introduced Persian etiquette and ceremonial. Under him the Delhi court acquired celebrity for its great magnificence, and it gave shelter to many (not less than fifteen) exiled princes from Central Asia. The famous poet Amīr Khusrav, surnamed the "Parrot of India", was a contemporary of Balban. The Sultān had a lofty sense of kingly dignity. He always appeared in full dress even before his private attendants. He excluded men of humble origin from important posts.

Balban considered the sovereign to be the representative of God upon earth, but he believed that it behoved him to maintain the dignity of his position by performing certain duties faithfully. These were, according to him, to protect religion and fulfil the provisions of the *Shariat*, to check immoral and sinful actions, to appoint pious men to offices and to dispense justice with equality. "All that I can do," he once remarked, "is to crush the cruelties of the cruel and to see that all persons are equal before the law. The glory of the State rests upon a rule which makes its subjects happy and prosperous." He had a strong sense of justice, which he administered without any partiality. To keep himself well


INDIA
Turko-Afghān Period
English Miles
100 50 0 100 200 300
TIBET
Muslim Conquests
Independent States
Malik Kafur's March
Balkh
Bamian
Kabul
Ghazni
Kandahar
Peshawar
Und
KASHMIR
Lahore
Kangra
Multan
Bhatinda
Tarain
Delhi
Uchh
SIND
Tatta
Ajmere
Ranthambor
Gwalior
Chandwar
Kanauj
Budaon
OUDH
Jaunpur
Benares
Kalinjar
Chitor
Chanderi
Anhilwara
MALWA
Ujjain
GUJARAT
Cambay
Junagarh
Broach
Ellichpur
Deogiri (Daulatabad)
GONDWANA
ORISSA
BIHAR
Gaur
Nuddiah
BENGAL
Satgaon
Sonargaon
ASSAM
NEPAL
TIRHUT
Chaul
YADAVAS
Warangal
Bidar
KAKATIYAS
Gulbarga
Raichur
Hampi
Nellore
HOYSALAS
Dvaravatipura
Kanchi
CHOLA
Tanjore
MABAR
Madura
PANDYA
Kayal
Rameswaram
CEYLON
KACCHA
HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS
HINDU KUSH
PAMIRS
SULAIMAN MTS
KIRTHAR MTS
ARAVALLI HILLS
VINDHYA MTS
SATPURA RANGE
R. Indus
R. Jhelam
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Bias
R. Sutlej
R. Jumna
R. Ganges
R. Gogra
R. Gumti
R. Gandak
R. Brahmaputra
R. Damodar
R. Mahanadi
R. Narbada
R. Tapti
R. Wardha
R. Godavari
R. Bhima
R. Krishna
R. Tungabhadra
R. Pennar N.
R. Pennar S.
R. Kaveri
R. Luni
R. Kabul
R. Kunar
R. Kurram
R. Gomal
R. Zhob
Arghandab R.
Khyber P.
Malakand P.
Kaoshan P.
Dorah P.
Bolan P.

informed about the affairs of the State he appointed spies in the fiefs of the Sultānate.

Balban's career as a Sultān was one of struggle against internal troubles and external danger. He had, therefore, no opportunity to launch aggressive conquests with a view to expanding the limits of his dominions. Though his courtiers urged him to these, he remained content with measures of pacification, consolidation and protection. He did not embark upon any administrative reorganisation embracing the different spheres of life. In fact, he established a dictatorship whose stability depended upon the personal strength of the ruler.

6. End of the so-called Slave Dynasty : Kaiqubād

The truth of the observation was illustrated by the reign of his weak successor, Mu'iz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād, son of Bughrā Khān. This young man of seventeen or eighteen years was placed on the throne by the chief officers of the State in disregard of the deceased Sultān's nomination. During his early days Kaiqubād was brought up under stern discipline by his grandfather. His tutors "watched him so carefully that he never cast his eyes on any fair damsel, and never tasted a cup of wine". But his wisdom and restraint disappeared when he found himself suddenly elevated to the throne. He "plunged himself at once into a whirlpool of pleasure and paid no thought to the duties of his station". The ambitious Nizām-ud-dīn, son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-dīn, the old *Kotwāl* of Delhi, gathered all power into his hands. Under his influence, the old officers of the State were disgraced. Disorder and confusion prevailed through the whole kingdom, and confusion was made worse confounded by the contests of the nobles, representing the Turkish party and the Khaljī party, for supremacy in the State. The Khaljīs, under the leadership of Malik Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz, gained the upper hand and killed Aitamar Kachhan and Aitamar Surkha, the leaders of the Turkish party. Kaiqubād, now a helpless physical wreck, was done to death in his palace of mirrors at Kilokhrī by a Khaljī noble whose father had been executed by his orders. Kaiqubād's body was thrown into the Jumnā. Fīrūz ascended the throne in the palace of Kilokhrī, on the 13th June, 1290, under the title of Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, after doing away with Kayūmars, an infant son of the murdered Sultān. Thus the work of Balban was undone and his dynasty came to an end in an ignominious manner.

7. Nature of the Rule of the Ilbarī Turks

The Ilbarī Turks ruled in India for about eight decades (1206–1290), but under them the kingdom of Delhi "was not a homogeneous political entity".[1] The authority of the Sultāns was normally recognised in the territory corresponding to the United Provinces of Āgra and Oudh, Bihār, Gwālior, Sind and certain parts of Central India and Rājputanā. The Bengal Governors were mostly inclined to remain independent of their control, and the imperial hold over the Punjab was occasionally threatened by the Mongols. The fiefs on all sides of Delhi were indeed nuclei of Muslim influence, but there were many independent local chieftains and disaffected inhabitants always inclined to defy the authority of the central government. The Sultāns of the line, whose deeds are recorded above, certainly did not refrain from acts of severity in their attempt to establish strong government in the newly conquered territory. But the estimate of their character by historians like Smith lacks justification. Several kings including Balban were men noted for their strength of character. Though they were bent upon suppressing the defiant chieftains, many of the original inhabitants who submitted to them were employed in military as well as civil offices. "On the whole it may be assumed," remarks Sir Wolseley Haig, "that the rule of the Slave Kings . . . was as just and humane as that of the Norman Kings in England and far more tolerant than that of Philip II in Spain and the Netherlands."

[1] *Cambridge Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 87.

CHAPTER III

THE KHALJĪS AND THE EXPANSION OF THE SULTĀNATE TO THE SOUTH

1. Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz

THE people of Delhi did not at first welcome the new Khaljī ruler, Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz, as they considered him to be of Afghān stock. But the late Major Raverty sought to prove that the Khaljīs could not be classed as Afghāns or Pathāns, and he assigns to them a Turkish origin.[1] The contemporary historian Ziā-ud-dīn Barnī, however, states that Jalāl-ud-dīn "came of a race different from the Turks" and that by the death of Kaiqubād "the Turks lost the Empire". Some modern writers suggest that the Khaljīs were originally of Turkish origin but had acquired Afghān character during their long residence in Afghānistān, and "between them and the Turks there was no love lost". Be that as it may, they took advantage of the political disorders of the time to establish their power.

Jalāl-ud-dīn was at first not much liked by the nobles and the populace of Delhi, and had to make Kilokhrī the seat of his government. However, as Barnī writes, the "excellence of his character, his justice, generosity and devotion, gradually removed the aversion of the people, and hopes of grants of land assisted in conciliating, though grudgingly and unwillingly, the affections of his nobles".

The new Sultān was an old man of seventy when he was elected to the throne. "Preoccupied with preparations for the next world," he proved to be too mild and tender to hold his power in those troublous times. Disposed to rule without bloodshed or oppression, he showed "the most impolitic tenderness towards rebels and other criminals". When, in the second year of his reign, Malik Chhajjū, a nephew of Balban, who held the fief of Kara, rebelled against him with the help of several nobles, he, out of imprudent generosity, pardoned the rebels.

As a natural result of the Sultān's peaceful disposition and leniency, there was a recrudescence of baronial intrigues and the

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1875, Part I, pp. 35–7.

authority of the Delhi throne ceased to be respected. This made him unpopular even with the Khaljī nobles, who aspired after power and privileges during the rule of one of their leaders. One of them, Malik Ahmad Chap, who held the post of Master of Ceremonies, told him plainly "that a King should reign and observe the rules of government, or else be content to relinquish the throne". There was only one unfortunate departure from this generous policy, when, by the Sultān's order, Siddī Maulā, a *darvesh*, was executed on mere suspicion of treason.

Such a ruler could not pursue a vigorous policy of conquest. Thus his expedition against Ranthambhor was a failure. The Sultān turned away from capturing the fort there with the conviction that it could not be accomplished "without sacrificing the lives of many Mussalmāns". But he was more successful against a horde of Mongols, numbering about 150,000 strong, who in A.D. 1292 invaded India under a grandson of Halākū (Hulâgū). Severely defeated by the Sultān's troops the invaders made peace. Their army was permitted to return from India, but Ulghū, a descendant of Chingīz, and many of the rank and file embraced Islam, settled near Delhi and came to be known as "New Mussalmāns". This was an ill-advised concession, which produced trouble in the future. The "New Mussalmāns" proved to be turbulent neighbours of the Delhi Government and caused it much anxiety. Even such a peace-loving king could not die a natural death on his bed. By a strange irony of fate he was done to death by his ambitious nephew in 1296.

2. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī

'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, nephew of Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz, was brought up by his uncle with affection and care. Out of excessive fondness for this fatherless nephew, Fīrūz made him also his son-in-law. On being raised to the throne of Delhi, Fīrūz placed him in charge of the fief of Kara in the district of Allahābād. It was here that seeds of ambition were sown in 'Alā-ud-dīn's mind. The "crafty suggestions of the Kara rebels", writes Barnī, "made a lodgement in his brain, and, from the very first year of his occupation of that territory, he began to follow up his design of proceeding to some distant quarter and amassing money". It might be that domestic unhappiness, due to the intrigues of his mother-in-law, Malikā Jahān, and his wife, also made him inclined to establish power and influence independent of the Delhi court. A successful raid into Mālwa in 1292 and the capture of the town of Bhīlsa, for which he was rewarded with the fief of Oudh in addition to that of Kara, whetted his ambition.

At Bhīlsa, 'Alā-ud-dīn heard vague rumours of the fabulous wealth of the kingdom of Devagiri, which extended over the western Deccan and was then ruled by Rāmchandradeva of the Yādava dynasty,[1] and resolved to conquer it. Concealing his intention from his uncle, he marched to the Deccan through Central India and the Vindhyan region at the head of a few thousand cavalry and arrived before Devagiri. Contact of Islam with this part of India had begun much earlier, since the eighth century at the latest. Rāmchandradeva was not prepared for such an attack, and his son, Śaṅkaradeva, had gone southwards with the greater part of his army. He was thus taken by surprise, defeated after a futile resistance, and compelled to make peace with the invader by promising to pay a heavy ransom. But as 'Alā-ud-dīn was about to start marching towards Kara, Sankaradeva hurried back to Devagiri and offered battle with the invaders, in spite of his father's request to the contrary. His enthusiasm brought him initial success, but he was soon defeated and a general panic ensued in his army, which led his followers to run away in different directions in utter confusion. Rāmchandradeva solicited the help of the other rulers of Peninsular India, but to no effect, and he was also greatly handicapped for want of provisions. No way was left for him but to sue for peace, which was concluded on harder terms than before. 'Alā-ud-dīn returned to Kara with enormous booty in gold, silver, silk, pearls and precious stones. This daring raid of the Khaljī invader not only entailed a heavy economic drain on the Deccan, but it also opened the way for the ultimate Muslim domination over the lands beyond the Vindhyas.

'Alā-ud-dīn had no intention of sharing the wealth with the Sultān of Delhi. Rather it widened the range of his ambition with the throne of Delhi as its goal. In spite of the honest counsels of his officers, especially of Ahmad Chap, the most outspoken of all, the old Sultān, Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz, blinded by his affection for his nephew and son-in-law, 'Alā-ud-dīn, allowed himself to be lured into a trap laid by the latter. Urged on by a traitor at his court, he hurried on a boat to meet his favourite nephew at Kara without taking even the necessary precautions for self-defence, and this mistake cost him his life. The adherents of 'Alā-ud-dīn proclaimed him Sultān in his camp on the 19th July, 1296 But 'Alā-ud-dīn, as Barnī writes, "did not escape retribution for the blood of his patron. . . . Fate at length placed a betrayer in his

[1] We have an interesting note about this kingdom in *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. II, p. 398. Eastern Deccan was then ruled by Rudrammā Devī, daughter of Rājā Ganapati of the Kākatīya dynasty.

path (Malik Kāfūr) by whom his family was destroyed . . . and the retribution which fell upon it never had a parallel even in any infidel land".

It was next necessary for 'Alā-ud-dīn to establish himself firmly at Delhi, where the Queen-dowager, Malikā Jahān, had in the meanwhile placed her younger son on the throne under the title of Rukn-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm. Her elder son, Arkalī Khān, dissatisfied with some of her acts, had remained at Multān. 'Alā-ud-dīn, on hearing of this dissension, marched hurriedly for Delhi in the midst of heavy rains. After a feeble resistance Ibrāhīm, deserted by his treacherous followers, left Delhi and fled to Multān with his mother and the faithful Ahmad Chap. 'Alā-ud-dīn won over the nobles, the officers and the populace of Delhi to his cause by a lavish distribution of the Deccan gold. On entering Delhi he was enthroned in the Red Palace of Balban on the 3rd October, 1296. The fugitive relatives and friends of the late Sultān were not allowed to remain in Multān. They were captured by 'Alā-ud-dīn's brother, Ulugh Khān, and his minister, Zafar Khān. Arkalī Khān and Ibrāhīm, with their brother-in-law, Ulghū Khān the Mongol, and Ahmad Chap, were blinded while being carried to Delhi. All the sons of Arkalī were put to death; he and his brother were confined in the fort of Hānsī; and Malikā Jahān and Ahmad Chap were kept under close restraint at Delhi.

'Alā-ud-dīn's position was, however, still precarious. He had to reckon with several hostile forces, like the refractoriness of the Turks, the rebellious attitude of the rulers of Rājputāna, Mālwa and Gujarāt, the plots of some nobles, who tried to imitate his example, and the apprehension of the Mongol menace. But quite different from his uncle in temperament and outlook, the new Sultān tried to combat these odds with indomitable energy, and his efforts were crowned with success.

The Mongol raids formed a source of constant anxiety and alarm to the Delhi Government for a long time. Within a few months of 'Alā-ud-dīn's accession, a large horde of the Mongols invaded India, but Zafar Khān repulsed them with great slaughter near Jullundur. The Mongols appeared again in the second year of the Sultān's reign under their leader, Saldi. This time also Zafar Khān vanquished them, and sent their leader with about 2,000 followers as prisoners to Delhi. But in the year 1299 Qutlugh Khwāja marched into India with several thousand Mongols. This time their object was not plunder but conquest, and so they "did not ravage the countries bordering on their march, nor did they attack the forts". They arrived in the vicinity of Delhi with a

view to investing the city, where a great panic consequently prevailed. Zafar Khān, "the Rustam of the age and the hero of the time", charged them vigorously but was killed in the thick of the fighting. His jealous master felt satisfied that "he had been got rid of without disgrace". Probably struck with awe at the valour of Zafar Khān, the Mongols soon retreated. They led another incursion into India, and advanced as far as Amroha in A.D. 1304 under 'Alī Beg and Khwāja Tash, but were beaten back with heavy losses. The last Mongol invasion during this reign took place in 1307–1308, when a chieftain named Iqbālmand led an army across the Indus. But he was defeated and slain. Many of the Mongol commanders were captured and put to death. The Mongols, dispirited by repeated failures in all their invasions and terrified by the harsh measures of the Delhi Sultān, did not appear again in India during his reign, to the great relief of the people of the north-west frontier and Delhi.

Besides chastising the Mongols, the Sultān, like Balban, adopted some defensive measures to guard effectively the north-west frontier of his dominion. He caused old forts to be repaired and new ones to be erected on the route of the Mongols. For better security, garrisons were maintained in the outposts of Sāmāna and Dīpālpur, always ready for war, and the royal army was strengthened. Ghāzī Malik (afterwards Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq), who, as Governor of the Punjab since 1305, was in charge of the frontier defences, ably held the Mongols in check for about a quarter of a century.

The "New Mussalmāns", settled near Delhi, were also severely dealt with by 'Alā-ud-dīn. They were discontented and restless because their aspirations for offices and other gains in their land of domicile had not been fulfilled, and they actually rebelled when 'Alā-ud-dīn's army was returning from the conquest of Gujarāt. The Sultān also dismissed all "New Mussalmāns" from his service. This added to their discontent, and in despair they hatched a conspiracy to assassinate him. But this conspiracy was soon discovered and the Sultān wreaked a terrible vengeance on them by issuing a decree for their wholesale massacre. Thus between twenty and thirty thousand "New Mussalmāns" were mercilessly slaughtered in one single day.

The uniform success of 'Alā-ud-dīn during the early years of his reign turned his head. He began to form "the most impossible schemes" and nourish "the most extravagant desires". He wanted to "establish a new religion and creed" and also aspired to emulate Alexander the Great as a conqueror of the world. In these designs, he sought the advice of Qāzī 'Alā-ul-mulk (uncle of the historian

Ziā Barnī), formerly his lieutenant at Kara and then *Kotwāl* of Delhi, who at once pointed out to him the unsoundness of his schemes. As regards the first design, Qāzī 'Alā-ul-Mulk remarked that "the prophetic office has never appertained to kings and never will, so long as the world lasts, though some prophets have discharged the functions of royalty". About the second one, he observed that a large part of Hindustān still remained unsubdued, that the kingdom was exposed to the raids of the Mongols, and that there was no *wazīr* like Aristotle to govern the state in the Sultān's absence. The Sultān was thus brought to his senses. He abandoned his "wild projects", but still described himself on his coins as "the Second Alexander".[1]

The reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn witnessed the rapid expansion of the Muslim dominion over different parts of India. With it begins, as Sir Wolseley Haig remarks, "the imperial period of the Sultānate", which lasted for nearly half a century. In 1297 'Alā-ud-dīn sent a strong army under his brother, Ulugh Khān, and his *wazīr*, Nusrat Khān, to conquer the Hindu kingdom of Gujarāt, which, though occasionally plundered, had remained unsubdued and was then ruled by Rāi Karnadeva II, a Baghela Rājput prince. The invaders overran the whole kingdom and captured Kamalā Devī, the beautiful queen of Karnadeva II, while the Rājā and his daughter, Devalā Devī, took refuge with King Rāmchandradeva of Devagiri. They also plundered the rich ports of Gujarāt and brought away enormous booty and a young eunuch named Kāfūr. They returned to Delhi with profuse wealth, Kamalā Devī, who later on became the favourite wife of 'Alā-ud-dīn, and Kāfūr, who rose to be the most influential noble in the State and its virtual master for some time before and after 'Alā-ud-dīn's death.

Ranthambhor, though reduced by Qutb-ud-dīn and Iltutmish, had been recovered by the Rājputs, and was then held by the brave Rājput chief Hamīr Deva. He had given shelter to some of the discontented "New Mussalmāns", which offended 'Alā-ud-dīn. In A.D. 1299, the Sultān sent an expedition for the reduction of the fortress, under the command of his brother, Ulugh Khān, and Nusrat Khān, who then held the fiefs of Biyāna and Kara respectively. They reduced Jhāīn and encamped before Ranthambhor, but were soon beaten back by the Rājputs. Nusrat Khān was killed by a stone discharged from a catapult (*maghribī*) in the fort while he was superintending the construction of a mound (*pāshib*) and a redoubt (*gargaj*). On hearing of this discomfiture of his troops, 'Alā-ud-dīn marched in person towards Ranthambhor.

[1] Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 8.

While enjoying the chase with only a few attendants at Tilpat, on his way to the fortress, he was attacked and wounded in his defenceless condition by his nephew, Ākat Khān, acting in concert with some "New Mussalmāns". But the traitor was soon captured and put to death with his associates. Other conspiracies to deprive 'Alā-ud-dīn of his throne were also suppressed. He captured the stronghold of Ranthambhor in July, 1301, with considerable difficulty, after one year's siege. Hamīr Deva, and the "New Mussalmāns" who had found shelter with him, were put to death. Amīr Khusrav, who gives an interesting account of the siege of the fortress, writes: "One night the Rāi lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames, and, rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair."[1] Hamīr's minister, Ranmal, who had betrayed his master and gone over to the side of the enemy with several other comrades, was paid back in his own coin for his treachery by being done to death by the order of the Sultān. 'Alā-ud-dīn started for Delhi after placing Ulugh Khān in charge of Ranthambhor, but the latter died five months after the Sultān's departure.

'Alā-ud-dīn also organised an expedition against Mewār, the land of the brave Guhila Rājputs, which, being provided by Nature with sufficient means of defence, had so long defied external invasions. This expedition, as in the case of Ranthambhor, was, in all probability, the outcome of the Sultān's ambitious desire for territorial expansion. If tradition is to be believed, its immediate cause was his infatuation for Rānā Ratan Singh's queen, Padminī, of exquisite beauty. But this fact is not explicitly mentioned in any contemporary chronicle or inscription. The Rānā was carried as a captive to the Sultān's camp, but was rescued by the Rājputs in a chivalrous manner. A small band of Rājputs under their two brave leaders, Gorā and Bādal, resisted the invaders at the outer gate of the fort of Chitor, but they could not long withstand the organised strength of the Delhi army. When further resistance seemed impossible, they preferred death to disgrace, and performed, as Tod describes, "that horrible rite, the *jauhar*, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the 'great subterranean retreat', in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Chitor beheld

[1] *Ta'rīkh-i-'Alāi*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 75. The author of the *Hammīr-Mahākāvya* gives a different account of Hamīr's death. According to him, the defeat of Hamīr was due to the defection of his two generals, Ratipāla and Krishṇapāla. When on being severely wounded Hamīr realised that his end was near, he cut off his head with his own sword rather than submit to the invaders. Ishwari Prasad, *Medieval India*, p. 195, footnote.

in procession the queens, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Padminī closed the throng. . . . They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element".

Amīr Khusrav, who accompanied the Sultān's army on the Chitor expedition, writes that the fort of Chitor was captured by 'Alā-ud-dīn on the 26th August, 1303, and that the latter bestowed the government of Chitor on his eldest son, Khizr Khān, and renamed the city Khizrābād before he returned to Delhi. Owing to the pressure of the Rājputs, Khizr Khān had to leave Chitor about the year 1311, and it was then entrusted by the Sultān to Māldeo, the chief of Jālor. But after several years, Chitor was recovered by the Rājputs under Hamīr or his son and became once again the capital of Mewār.

After reducing Chitor to submission, 'Alā-ud-dīn sent an army to Mālwa. Rāi Mahlak Deva of Mālwa and his *pardhān*, Koka, opposed it with a large force but were defeated and slain in November or December, 1305. 'Ain-ul-mulk, the Sultān's confidential chamberlain, was appointed Governor of Mālwa. This was followed by the Muslim conquest of Ujjain, Māndū, Dhār and Chanderī. Thus by the end of the year A.D. 1305, practically the whole of Northern India fell under the sway of Khaljī imperialism, which was then emboldened to embark on its career of expansion in the Deccan.

Although there was an earlier intercourse of the west coast of India with the Muhammadans, chiefly through commerce, the first Muslim conquest of the Deccan was effected by the Khaljīs under 'Alā-ud-dīn. His southern campaigns were the outcome of his political as well as economic motives. It was but natural for an ambitious ruler like him to make attempts for the extension of his influence over the south after the north had been brought under control. The Deccan's wealth was also "too tempting to an enterprising adventurer".

The existing political conditions in India beyond the Vindhyas afforded 'Alā-ud-dīn an opportunity to march there. It was then divided into four well-marked kingdoms. The first was the Yādava kingdom of Devagiri, under its wise and efficient ruler, Rāmchandradeva (1271–1309). The tract known as Telingāna in the east, with its capital at Warangal (in the Nizām's dominions), was under Pratāparudradeva I of the Kākatīya dynasty. The Hoysalas, then under their ruler, Vīra Ballāla III (1292–1342), occupied the country now included in the Mysore State with their capital

at Dorasamudra, modern Halēbīd, famous for its beautiful temples. In the far south was the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas, stretching over the territory called M'abar by the Muslim writers and including the modern districts of Madurā, Rāmnad and Tinnevelly. It was then ruled by Māravarman Kulasekhara (1268–1311), who greatly contributed to its prosperity by encouraging commerce. There were also some minor rulers like the Telegu-Choḍa chief, Manma-Siddha III, ruling in the Nellore district, the Kalinga-Ganga king, Bhānu-deva, reigning in Orissa, the Kerala king, Ravivarman, ruling from Kollam (Quilon), and the Ālupa chief, Bankideva-Ālupendra, ruling from Mangalore. There was no love lost among the Hindu kingdoms of the south. During 'Alā-ud-dīn's raid on Devagiri in 1294, Rāmchandradeva received no help from any of them. Hoysala kings at times attacked Rāmchandradeva of Devagiri. Internal dissensions among the States of the south invited invasions from the north.

In March, 1307, 'Alā-ud-dīn sent an expedition under Kāfūr, now entitled Malik Nāib (lieutenant) of the kingdom, against Rāmchandradeva of Devagiri, who had withheld the payment of the tribute due on account of the province of Ellichpur, for the last three years, and had given refuge to Rāi Karnadeva II, the fugitive ruler of Gujarāt. Assisted by Khwāja Hājī (deputy *ariz-i-mamālik*), Kāfūr marched through Mālwa, and advanced to Devagiri. He laid waste the whole country, seized much booty and compelled Rāmchandradeva to sue for peace. Rāmchandradeva was sent to 'Alā-ud-dīn at Delhi, where the Sultān treated him kindly and sent him back to his kingdom after six months. Rāmchandradeva continued to rule thenceforth as a vassal of the Delhi Sultānate and regularly remitted revenue to Delhi. Rāi Karna's daughter, Devalā Devī, was captured by the invader and taken by Alp Khān, governor of Gujarāt, to Delhi, where she was married to the Sultān's eldest son, Khizr Khān.

An expedition sent by 'Alā-ud-dīn against Kākatīya Pratāparudradeva in A.D. 1303 had failed. But the humiliation of the Yādavas encouraged him to make a second attempt in 1307 to bring the Kākatīya king under his authority and fleece him of his wealth. The Sultān had no desire to annex the kingdom of Warangal, the administration of which from a great distance would prove to be a difficult task. His real object was to acquire the vast wealth of this kingdom and make Pratāparudradeva acknowledge his authority. This is clear from his instruction to Kāfūr, who commanded the invading army this time also: "If the Rāi consented to surrender his treasure and jewels, elephants

and horses, and also to send treasure and elephants in the following year, Malik Nāib Kāfūr was to accept these terms and not to press the Rāi too hard". On reaching Devagiri, the Delhi army was assisted by the now humble Rāmchandradeva, who also supplied it with an efficient commissariat, as it marched towards Telingāna. Pratāparudradeva tried to resist the invaders by shutting himself up in the strong fort of Warangal. But the fort was besieged with such vigour that, being reduced to extremities, the Kākatīya ruler had to open negotiations for peace in March, 1310. He surrendered to Kāfūr a hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, and large quantities of jewels and coined money and agreed to send tribute annually to Delhi. Kāfūr then returned to Delhi through Devagiri, Dhār and Jhāīn with an immense booty, carried, as Amīr Khusrav writes, "on a thousand camels groaning under the 'weight of treasure'".

After these successes, 'Alā-ud-dīn soon determined to bring under his authority the kingdoms in the far south, renowned for the enormous wealth of their temples. On the 18th November, 1310, a large army under the command of Malik Nāib and Khwāja Hājī marched from Delhi against the kingdom of the Hoysalas, and passing by way of Devagiri reached Dorasamudra. The Hoysala king, Vīra Ballāla III, was taken by surprise in the first attack on his capital. Taking into consideration the overwhelming strength of the invaders, he submitted to them and surrendered all his treasures. The victors further captured thirty-six elephants and plundered a vast quantity of gold, silver, jewels and pearls from the temples. Malik Nāib despatched to Delhi all the captured property and also a Hoysala Prince. The Prince returned to Dorasamudra on the 6th May, 1313, amidst the great rejoicings of the people there. But the Hoysalas became vassals of the Delhi Sultān.

After twelve days' stay in the city of Dorasamudra, Malik Nāib turned his attention towards the country of Ma'bar, extending over nearly the whole of the Coromandel Coast and along the western coast from Quilon to Cape Comorin. The Pāṇḍyas then ruled over this territory. A fratricidal war between Sundara Pāṇḍya, a legitimate son of the Pāṇḍya ruler, Kulasekhara, and Vīra Pāṇḍya, his illegitimate but favourite son, gave an opportunity to Malik Nāib for his meditated invasion of Ma'bar. Sundara Pāṇḍya, enraged at his father's partiality for Vīra Pāṇḍya, who had been nominated as his successor, murdered the king towards the end of May, 1310, and seized the crown for himself. But he was defeated in an engagement with his brother about the month of November of the same year, and thus, hard pressed, sought Muslim help.

Malik Nāib marched to the Deccan at the head of a large army. On the 14th April, 1311, he reached Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas, which he found empty, for, on hearing of his advance, Vīra Pāṇḍya had left the city "with the Rānīs". But he sacked the city and captured an immense booty, which, according to Amīr Khusrav, consisted of five hundred and twelve elephants, five thousand horses and five hundred maunds of jewels of various kinds, such as diamonds, pearls, emeralds and rubies. If Amīr Khusrav is to be believed, Malik Nāib advanced as far as Rāmeswaram. He returned to Delhi on the 18th October, 1311, carrying with him vast booty consisting of 612 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold, and some boxes of jewels and pearls. Thus the "country of Ma'bar came under the control of the imperialists" and remained a dependency of the Delhi Sultānate till the early part of Muhammad Tughluq's reign.[1] In 1312 Sankaradeva, son of Rāmchandradeva, withheld the tribute promised by his father to the Delhi Sultān and tried to regain his independence. At this, Malik Nāib again marched from Delhi, and defeated and killed Sankaradeva. Thus the whole of Southern India had to acknowledge the sway of the Delhi Sultān.

But the raids of Malik Nāib, associated with the sack of cities, the slaughter of the people, and the plunder of temples, "made an immense impression" on the indigenous inhabitants of South India.[2] They had no other course but to submit, for the time being, to the mighty forces of the invader, but they must have harboured a feeling of discontent in their hearts, which ultimately found expression in the rise of Vijayanagar as its political fruit.

In his conception of sovereignty, 'Alā-ud-dīn departed from the ideas of his predecessors. He had the courage to challenge for the first time the pre-eminence of the orthodox church in matters of State, and declare that he could act without the guidance of the *Ulemas* for the political interests of his Government. Thus he spoke to Qāzī Mughīs-ud-dīn of Biyāna, who often visited his court and was an advocate of ecclesiastical supremacy: "To prevent rebellion, in which thousands perish, I issue such orders as I conceive to be for the good of the State, and the benefit of the people. Men are heedless, disrespectful, and disobey my commands; I am then compelled to be severe to bring them into obedience. I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful; whatever I think to be for the good of the State, or suitable for the

[1] This is known from Ibn Batūtah and some coins. *J.R.A.S.*, 1909 pp. 669–70.
[2] Sewell, *Hist. Ins.*, etc., p. 177.

emergency, that I decree." It would be, however, wrong to surmise from this outlook of 'Alā-ud-dīn that he disregarded the religion of Islam. Outside India, he was known "as a great defender of Islam". In India, there was a difference of opinion on this point. While the supporters of clericalism like Barnī and his followers "emphasise his disregard of religion", Amīr Khusrav, who was a man of culture and a shrewd observer of things, considered him to be a supporter of Islam. 'Alā-ud-dīn himself said to the Qāzī: "Although I have not studied the Science or the Book, I am a Mussalmān of a Mussalmān stock." The inscriptions on 'Alā-ud-dīn's monuments also show that he had not lost faith in Islam.

'Alā-ud-dīn acted according to his conviction, and followed a policy of "thorough", calculated to help the establishment of a strong Government at the centre. The rebellion of Ākat Khān, the revolt of the Sultān's sister's sons, Amīr 'Umar and Mangū Khān, in Badāūn and Oudh, the conspiracy of Hājī Maulā and the plots of the "New Mussalmāns", all of which were effectively suppressed, led him to believe that there were some defects in the administrative system. After consulting his intimate advisers, he attributed these to four causes: (i) Disregard of the affairs of the State by the Sultān, (ii) the use of wine, (iii) intimacy and alliances among the nobles, which enabled them to organise themselves for conspiracies, (iv) abundance of money, "which engenders evil and strife, and brings forth pride and disloyalty".

With a strong determination to stamp out these evils and make himself secure against rebellions, the Sultān framed a code of repressive regulations. He first assailed the institution of private property. All pensions and endowments were appropriated to the State, and all villages held in proprietary right (*milk*), in free gift (*inām*) and benevolent endowments (*waqf*) were confiscated. "The people," writes Barnī, "were pressed and amerced, money was exacted from them on every kind of pretence. Many were left without any money, till at length it came to pass that, excepting *maliks* and *amīrs*, officials, Multānis, and bankers, no one possessed even a trifle in cash." Secondly, the Sultān established an efficient body of spies, who were enjoined to report to him everything, even the most trivial matters like the gossip and transactions in the markets. "The system of reporting went to such a length that nobles dared not speak aloud even in the largest places, and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs." Thirdly, the use of spirituous liquor and drugs, and dicing, were strictly prohibited. The Sultān himself showed an example by giving up drinking, and all his wine vessels were broken to pieces. Fourthly,

the Sultān prohibited social gatherings of the nobles, who could not meet without special permission from him. This ordinance was so strictly enforced that "feasting and hospitality fell into total disuse. Through fear of spies, the nobles kept themselves quiet; they gave no parties and had little communication with each other".

Some of the other measures adopted by the Sultān were equally drastic. Large sections of the people had to pay to the State half of their gross produce and heavy pasturage taxes on cattle. The Sultān wanted to reduce them to such a state of misery as to make it impossible for them to bear arms, to ride on horseback, to put on fine clothes or to enjoy any other luxury of life. Indeed, their lot was very hard. None of them "could hold up his head, and in their houses no sign of gold or silver, *tankās* or *jitals*, or any superfluity was to be seen. . . . Driven by destitution, the wives of the *khuts* and *maqaddams* went and served for hire in the houses of the Mussalmāns". For revenue collection, all hereditary assessors and collectors of revenue were made subject to one law, and it was enforced with such great rigour by Sharaf Qāī, the *nāib wazīr* of the Sultān, and his staff, that "men looked upon revenue officers as something worse than fever. Clerkship was a great crime, and no man would give his daughter to a clerk".

'Alā-ud-dīn rightly realised that a strong army was an indispensable requisite for the system of government he had been trying to build up. But its efficient maintenance required a huge expenditure at a time when the influx of wealth from the south had caused a fall in the value of money and augmented the prices of articles. The Sultān fixed the pay of a soldier at 234 *tankās*[1] a year and 78 *tankās* for a man maintaining two horses. He did not want to increase the pay of the soldiers as that would have caused a heavy strain on the resources of the State and of the people, who had already been taxed to the utmost limit of their capacity. But to enable the soldiers to live on a moderate pay, he issued some edicts regulating the prices of all articles from the absolute necessaries of life to things of luxury like slaves, horses, arms, silks and stuffs[2] and adjusting the laws of supply and demand

[1] The value of a *tankā* was a little more than that of a rupee.

[2] The prices of articles were thus fixed:

Wheat . .	per man	7½ jitals	Sugar . .	per seer	1½ jitals
Barley . .	,,	4 ,,	Brown sugar .	,,	¼ ,,
Rice in husk .	,,	5 ,,	Butter . .	2½ seers	1 ,,
Mash . .	,,	5 ,,	Oil of sesamum .	3 ,,	1 ,,
Nakhud (pulse) .	,,	5 ,,	Salt . . .	2½ mans	5 ,,
Moth . .	,,	3 ,,			

as well as possible. The land revenue from the *Khālsa* villages around the capital was to be realised in kind, and grain was to be stored in the royal granaries in the city of Delhi, so that in times of scarcity the Sultān could supply the markets with his own grain. No private hoarding of grain was to be tolerated. The markets were controlled by two officers, the *Diwān-i-Riyāsat* and the *Shahana-i-Mandi*, and a body of spies were entrusted with the task of reporting to the Sultān the condition of the markets. The merchants had to get themselves registered in a State *daftar* and to engage themselves to bring all goods for sale to the *Sarāi 'Adl*, an open place inside the Badāūn gate. They had to furnish sufficient securities for their conduct. Severe punishments were provided against the violation of the Sultān's regulations. To prevent the shopkeepers from using short weights, it was ordered that the equivalent of the deficiency would be cut off from their flesh. The regulations worked according to the Sultān's desire so long as he lived, and enabled him to maintain a large standing army at a cheap cost. Barnī remarks that the "unvarying price of grain in the markets was looked upon as one of the wonders of the time". But he does not definitely state the effects of these devices on the economic condition of the country as a whole.

'Alā-ud-dīn reached the apex of his career by the end of the year 1312. But the tragedy of his life was at hand, and he began henceforth to live by the light of a star that had paled. As Barnī puts it: "Success no longer attended him. Fortune proved, as usual, fickle, and destiny drew her poniard to destroy him." His excesses had undermined his health, his intellect became dwarfed and his judgment defective. He became a mere puppet in the hands of his favourite eunuch, Kāfūr, whom he made the commander of his army and *wazīr*, and indiscreetly removed the old and able administrators. Rebellion broke out in several quarters, and palace-intrigues supervened due to the machinations of Kāfūr, who caused the Sultān's wife and son to be alienated from him. The attack of dropsy, from which the Sultān had been suffering for some time, proved fatal. He expired on the 2nd January, A.D. 1316, at the height of his troubles and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jāmi-'Masjid, Delhi. According to some, "the infamous Malik Kāfūr helped his disease to a fatal end".

'Alā-ud-dīn was a self-willed ruler, whose ambition knew no

Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, etc., p. 160; Elliot, Vol. III, p. 192. A jital (copper coin) was $\frac{1}{4}$ of a silver *tankā* of 175 grains and corresponded in value to $1\frac{1}{4}$ farthing. One Delhi *man* was equal to 28.8 lbs. avoirdupois and 40 seers made a *man*. Thomas, *Chronicles, etc.*, pp. 160–2.

bounds and brooked no restraint, and whose methods were unscrupulous. "He shed more innocent blood," writes Barnī, "than ever Pharaoh was guilty of."[1] The tragic end of Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz, the treatment meted out to the deceased Sultān's relatives, the severe measures against the "New Mussulmāns", not excepting even women and children, are clear proofs of the Sultān's harsh nature. Extremely suspicious and jealous, he was sometimes ungrateful even to those from whom he had received most valuable services. Thus on being established on the throne, he deprived many of those nobles who had helped his cause of their wealth and establishments, threw them into prison, and caused some of them to be blinded and killed. The remarkable bravery of the Sultān's own general Zafar Khān excited his jealousy, and when he was killed by the Mongols, his master was satisfied that he "had been got rid of without disgrace". Barnī writes that 'Alā-ud-dīn had "no acquaintance with learning",[2] but, according to Ferishta, he learnt the art of reading Persian after his accession.

There flourished during the reign of this Sultān eminent scholars and poets like Amīr Khusrav and Hasan. The Sultān was fond of architecture. Several forts were built by his orders, the most important of these being the circular *'Alāī Fort* or *Koshak-i-Siri*, the walls of which were made of stone, brick and lime and which had seven gates.[3] "All the mosques," writes Amīr Khusrav, "which lay in ruins were built anew by a profuse scattering of silver." In 1311 'Alā-ud-dīn undertook the extension of the *Qutb Mosque* and the construction of a new *Minār* (tower) in the courtyard of the mosque of twice the size of the old *Qutb Minār*. The building of the new *Minār* could not be completed in his lifetime owing to the troubles during his last days. In 1311 he also caused a large gate to be built for this mosque of red sandstone and marble, with smaller gates on four sides of the large gate.

'Alā-ud-dīn is, however, known to history for his imperialistic activities. He was a brave and able soldier, and the military exploits of his reign were almost uniformly crowned with success. He carried the militaristic ideal of Balban to its logical conclusion. As an administrator also, he showed remarkable vigour in the early part of his reign. To him belongs the credit of governing the State for the first time independent of the authority and

[1] Elliot, Vol. III, p. 156.

[2] Barnī, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 183.

[3] This fort was built in A.D. 1303. Sher Shāh pulled down the fort of Siri and built a new city near Old Delhi. The site of the fort of Siri is now marked by a village named Shāhbād. *Asār-us-Sanādid*, by Sir Syed Ahmad Khān.

guidance of the priestly hierarchy. He was determined to strengthen his government at any cost.

The foundation of the military monarchy that he tried to build up was, however, laid upon sand. His severity enabled him to strengthen it apparently, but it generated a feeling of discontent in the minds of the suppressed baronage and the humiliated chiefs, who naturally remained waiting for opportunities to regain their lost position and power. The great defect of his system was that it could not win for itself the willing support and goodwill of the governed, which is essential for the security of any Government. Its continuance depended on the strong personality of the man who had erected it. As a matter of fact, symptoms of its breakdown appeared during the last days of the Sultān and became fully manifest, to the utter undoing of his work, within a short time after his demise. A just retribution fell upon his family for his ungrateful conduct towards his uncle, and its power and prestige were undermined by one in whom the Sultān had reposed profound confidence—his own favourite, Malik Kāfūr.

3. Undue Influence of Kāfūr

As unscrupulous as his master, Kāfūr now tried to establish his influence as the supreme authority in the State. On the second day after the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn, he produced a will of the deceased Sultān, which, if authentic, had been secured from him through undue pressure, disinheriting Khizr Khān and giving the throne to Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umar, a child of his master, five or six years old. The minor son was enthroned, Kāfūr being his regent and the virtual dictator of the State. Goaded on by the ambition of seizing the throne, Kāfūr perpetrated most horrible crimes. He caused the elder sons of 'Alā-ud-dīn, Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān, to be blinded, and the queen-mother was deprived of her wealth and imprisoned. He also kept Mubārak, the third son of 'Alā-ud-dīn, in confinement in the *Hazar Sutun* (the palace of a thousand pillars) and intended to deprive him of his eyesight. The youth, however, managed to escape. Kāfūr further sought to remove all the nobles and slaves who were supporters of the Khaljīs. But he was soon paid back in his own coin for his atrocities by being murdered, after a "criminal rule" of thirty-five days, by some attendants of the late Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn. The nobles then brought Mubārak out of his confinement and made him the regent of his minor brother. But after sixty-four days of regency, Mubārak blinded the child in April, 1316, and ascended the throne under the title of Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh.

4. Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak and Fall of the Khaljīs

The early years of the new ruler's reign were marked by success, and he rescinded the harsher edicts of his father. Political prisoners were set free, some of the lands and endowments confiscated by the late Sultān were restored to their original grantees and the compulsory tariff was removed. This no doubt gave satisfaction to the people, but, as Barnī writes, "all fear and awe of royal authority disappeared". Further, the Sultān soon plunged himself into a life of pleasure, which naturally made him indolent to the great prejudice of the interests of the State. His example affected the people also. "During (his reign of) four years and four months," writes Barnī, "the Sultān attended to nothing but drinking, listening to music, pleasure, and scattering gifts." He fell completely under the influence of a low-caste (*Parwārī*) convert from Gujarāt, whom he styled Khusrav Khān and made the chief minister of his kingdom. This favourite shamelessly pandered to the low tastes of his master with the ulterior motive of seizing the throne for himself.

Fortunately for Hindustān, the Mongols made no attempt to invade it, nor was there any serious disturbance in any quarter, during this reign. There broke out only two rebellions, one in Gujarāt and the other in Devagiri (in the Deccan). The Gujarāt revolt was effectively suppressed by 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and the Sultān's father-in-law, who had received from him the title of Zafar Khān, was placed as governor there. The Sultān marched in person at the head of a large army against Devagiri. Harapāla Deva of Devagiri fled away on the Sultān's approach, but he was pursued, captured, and flayed alive. Thus the whole kingdom of the Yādavas fell under the control of the Muslims and the Sultān appointed Malik Yaklakī governor of Devagiri. He also deputed Khusrav Khān to lead an expedition to Telingāna, which was attended with success. After one year's stay at Devagiri, where the Sultān built a great mosque, he marched back to Delhi.

These triumphs made Mubārak worse than before. Many members of the imperial family were killed. Mubārak made a departure from the practice of the preceding Sultāns of Delhi by shaking off the allegiance to the Khalifat and proclaiming himself "the supreme head of the religion of Islam, the Khalifah of the Lord of Heaven and Earth", and assumed the pontifical title of *'al-Wāsiq-billāh*.[1]

[1] *Vide* inscriptions on his coins in *J.A.S.B.*, 1875, 1880, 1886; Thomas, *Chronicles*, etc., pp. 179–81; Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 8 and pp. 43–6.

The regime of this ruler did not, however, last long. Khusrav planned his overthrow, but out of excessive infatuation for him the Sultān did not listen to the warning of his friends. He soon fell a victim to the conspiracy of Khusrav, one of whose *Parwārī* associates stabbed him to death on a night of April, A.D. 1320. Such was the end of the dynasty of the Khaljīs after it had ruled for about thirty years.

5. Usurpation of Khusrav

Khusrav then ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Khusrav Shāh and distributed honours and rewards among his relatives and tribesmen, who had helped him in the accomplishment of his design. He squandered away the wealth of the State in trying to conciliate those nobles who had been forced to acquiesce in his usurpation. He inaugurated a veritable reign of terror by massacring the friends and personal attendants of the late Sultān and by putting the members of his family to disgrace. According to Barnī, Yahiyā bin Ahmad Sarhindi and Ibn Batūtah, Khusrav favoured the Hindus, and his brief regime of four months and a few days was marked by the ascendancy of the Hindus. Whatever it might have been, the conduct of Khusrav was enough to offend the 'Alāi nobles, who soon found a leader in Ghāzī Malik, the faithful Warden of the Marches. Marching from Dipālpur, Ghāzī Malik, with the support of all the nobles except 'Ain-ul-Mulk, the governor of Multān, who bore a personal grudge against him, defeated Khusrav at Delhi on the 5th September, 1320. Khusrav was beheaded and his followers were either killed or routed. Though master of the situation, Ghāzī Malik did not occupy the throne at once. Rather, he at first made "a decent profession of reluctance". But as no male descendant of 'Alā-ud-dīn was living, the nobles persuaded him to accept the throne in September, 1320, under the title of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. It is significant to note that the Muslim nobles, without manifesting any jealousy towards Ghāzī Malik, who had been equal to them in rank, now welcomed him to the throne of Delhi.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSE OF TUGHLUQ AND THE BEGINNING OF DISRUPTION

1. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq

THE dynasty of Ghāzī Malik may be regarded as an indigenous one. His father came to Hindustān in the time of Balban and married a Jāt girl of the Punjab. From a humble position, Ghāzī Malik gradually rose to the highest position in the empire by dint of his merit. We have already noted how ably he guarded the frontiers of the Delhi Empire against Mongol invasions till Providence placed him on the throne at an advanced age.

The choice of Ghāzī Malik as the ruler of Delhi by the nobles was amply justified. The situation on his accession was one of difficulty, as the authority of the Delhi Sultānate had ceased to command obedience in its outlying provinces, and its administrative system had disintegrated during the period of confusion following the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn. But he proved himself equal to the occasion. Unlike his predecessors, he possessed strength of character, largely due to his early training in the school of adversity. A devout and god-fearing man, he had a mild and liberal disposition. He "made his court more austere than it had ever been except probably in the time of Balban". He acted with moderation and wisdom. Amīr Khusrav thus praises him:

> "He never did anything that was not replete with wisdom and sense.
> He might be said to wear a hundred doctors' hoods under his crown."

Soon after his accession, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq set himself to the task of restoring administrative order by removing the abuses of the preceding regime. The extravagances of Mubārak and Khusrav had brought the finances of the State to a deplorable condition. Ghiyās-ud-dīn therefore ordered a strict enquiry to be made into all claims and *jāgīrs*. Unlawful grants were confiscated to the State. The little unpopularity that he incurred by this measure was soon removed by his wise liberality and beneficent

measures for the welfare of his subjects. He appointed upright governors in the provinces, and considerably lightened the burden of revenue by limiting the dues of the State to one-tenth or one-eleventh of the gross produce and providing against official rapacity and extortion. Agriculture, the main industry of the people in this land, received special encouragement. Canals were excavated to irrigate the fields, gardens were planted and forts were built to provide shelter for husbandmen against brigands. But some of the regulations of the Sultān were not marked by the same spirit of benevolence. We know from Barnī that certain sections of the people were to "be taxed so that they might not be blinded with wealth, and so become discontented and rebellious; nor, on the other hand, be so reduced to poverty and destitution as to be unable to pursue their husbandry".

Reforms were introduced in other branches of administration, like justice and police, so that order and security prevailed in the country. The Sultān devised a system of poor-relief and patronised religious institutions and literary men; Amīr Khusrav, his poet laureate, received from the State a pension of one thousand *tankās* per mensem. The postal system of the country was reorganised to facilitate communications and the military department was made efficient and orderly.

Ghiyās-ud-dīn was not unmindful of asserting the authority of the Sultānate over its different provinces. He pursued the Khaljī policy of military domination and imperialism, a reaction against which began in fact with the failure of his successor, Muhammad bin Tughluq. This is strikingly illustrated by what he did in the Deccan and Bengal.

In the Deccan the Kākatīya ruler Pratāparudradeva II of Warangal, who had increased his power during the period of disorder following the death of 'Alā-ud-dīn, refused to pay the stipulated tribute to the Delhi Government. So Ghiyās-ud-dīn sent, in the second year of his reign, an expedition against Warangal under his eldest son and heir-apparent, Fakhr-ud-dīn Muhammad Jauna Khān. The invaders besieged the mud fort of Warangal, which was, however, defended by the Hindus with strong determination and courage. Owing to intrigues[1] and the outbreak of pestilence

[1] According to Barnī and Yahiyā bin Ahmad, who have been followed by later Muslim writers like Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, Badāūnī and Ferishta, these intrigues were due to some traitors in the army. But Ibn Batūtah (Vol. III pp. 208–10) writes that the Crown Prince Jauna, who intended to seize the throne, was responsible for these. Thomas (*Chronicles*, etc., p. 108) and Sir Wolseley Haig (*J.R.A.S.*, 1922, pp. 231–7) accept the opinion of Ibn Batūtah, but Dr. Ishwari Prasad (*History of Qaraunah Turks*, pp. 30–2) has pointed out the unsoundness of the latter view.

in the army, Prince Jauna had to return to Delhi without effecting anything. But again, four months after Jauna's return to Delhi, the Sultān sent a second expedition against Warangal under the same prince. The second attempt met with success. After a desperate fight the Kākatīya ruler surrendered, with his family and nobles, to the enemy. Prince Jauna sent him to Delhi and subjugated the whole country of the Kākatīyas, Warangal being renamed as Sultānpur. The Kākatīya kingdom, though not formally annexed by the Delhi Sultān, soon lost its former power and glory.

A civil war in Bengal among the sons of Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, who died in A.D. 1318, led Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq to intervene in the affairs of that province. Among the five sons of Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur, who had ruled independently in Eastern Bengal with Sonārgāon as his capital since 1310, Shihāb-ud-dīn Bughrā Shāh, who had succeeded his father on the throne of Bengal with his capital at Lakhnautī, and Nāsir-ud-dīn, contested for supremacy in Bengal. In 1319 Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur defeated Shihāb-ud-dīn Bughrā Shāh and seized the throne of Bengal, which was also coveted by Nāsir-ud-dīn, who thereupon appealed to the Delhi Sultān for help. The Sultān availed himself of this opportunity to bring under his effective control the distant province of Bengal, the allegiance of which to the Delhi Sultānate was always loose. He marched towards Lakhnautī in A.D. 1324, captured Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur, who was sent as a prisoner to Delhi, and placed Nāsir-ud-dīn on the throne of Western Bengal as a vassal ruler. Eastern Bengal was also made a province of the Delhi Sultānate. On his way back to Delhi, Ghiyās-ud-dīn reduced to submission the Rājā of Tirhut, which became henceforth a fief of the Delhi Sultānate.

But the days of Ghiyās-ud-dīn were numbered. On returning from Bengal he died in February-March, 1325, from the collapse of a wooden structure which his son, Jauna, had built at Afghānpur, at a distance of five or six miles from Tughluqābād, the fortress-city founded by Ghiyās-ud-dīn near Delhi. He was interred in the tomb which he had built for himself at Tughluqābād. There are two accounts about the Sultān's death. Barnī attributes the collapse of the structure to a crash caused by lightning striking it; and Yayihā bin Ahmad Sarhindi also writes that the structure gave way "by divine preordination". But according to Ibn Batūtah, the death of the Sultān was due to a premeditated conspiracy of his son, who got the pavilion so constructed by the royal architect (*Mir 'Imārd*), Ahmad, son of Ayāz, that it would collapse on being touched by

elephants. Some later writers like Abul Fazl, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad and Badāūnī suspect such a conspiracy, and most of the modern writers consider the evidence of Ibn Batūtah's statement to be conclusive, as his informant, Shaikh Rukn-ud-dīn, was in the pavilion on the occasion of the Sultān's tragic death. Barnī's account is evidently partial, and his reticence is due to his desire not to displease Fīrūz Tughluq, who had a great regard for Jauna and during whose reign he wrote his work.

2. Muhammad bin Tughluq

Prince Jauna declared himself as the Sultān three days after his father's death in February-March, 1325, under the title of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Forty days later he proceeded to Delhi and ascended the throne without any opposition in the old palace of the Sultāns, amidst a profuse display of pageantry. Like 'Alā-ud-dīn, he lavishly distributed gold and silver coins among the populace and titles among the nobles.

For studying the history of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign we have besides the admirable history of a contemporary official, Ziā-ud-dīn Barnī, who wrote his work in the time of the Sultān's successor, Fīrūz Shāh, several other Persian works of his near contemporaries like the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, the *Fatūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, an autobiographical memoir of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, the *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* of 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī, the *Tughluqnāmah* of Amīr Khusrav, and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* of Yahiyā bin Ahmad Sarhindi, a comparatively late work, which contains much supplementary information. The work of the African traveller, Ibn Batūtah, is also of great importance for the history of this period. He came to India in September, A.D. 1333, and was hospitably received by the Delhi Sultān, who appointed him Chief Qāzī of Delhi, which office he continued to hold till he was sent as the Sultān's ambassador to China in July, A.D. 1342. His account bears on the whole the stamp of impartiality and is remarkable for profuseness of details. The coins of Muhammad bin Tughluq are also of informative value.

Muhammad bin Tughluq is indeed an extraordinary personality, and to determine his place in history is a difficult task. Was he a genius or a lunatic? An idealist or a visionary? A bloodthirsty tyrant or a benevolent king? A heretic or a devout Mussalmān? There is no doubt that he was one of the most learned and accomplished scholars of his time, for which he has been duly praised by Barnī and others. Endowed with a keen intellect, a wonderful

memory and a brilliant capacity of assimilating knowledge, he was proficient in different branches of learning like logic, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy and the physical sciences. A perfect master of composition and style, he was a brilliant calligraphist. He had a vast knowledge of Persian poetry and quoted Persian verses in his letters. The science of medicine was not unknown to him. He was also well skilled in dialectics, and scholars thought twice before opening any discussion with him on a subject in which he was well versed. An experienced general, he won many victories and lost few campaigns.

In his private life the Sultān was free from the prevailing vices of the age, and his habits were simple. Possessed of remarkable humility and generosity, he was lavish in distributing gifts and presents. Ibn Batūtah, who has characterised him "as the most humble of men and one who is most inclined towards doing what is right and just", writes that "the most prominent of his qualities is generosity". Writers like Barnī, Yahiya bin Ahmad Sarhindi, and, on their authority, Badāūnī, Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, and Ferishta, have wrongly charged the Sultān with irreligiousness and the slaughter of pious and learned men, scribes and soldiers. Ibn Batūtah asserts that "he follows the principles of religion with devoutness and performs the prayers himself and punishes those who neglect them". This is corroborated by two other contemporary writers, Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad and Badr-i-Chāch, and even Ferishta has to admit it. Muhammad bin Tughluq's chief offence was that, probably inspired by the example of the Khaljīs, "he ignored the canon law" as expounded by learned Doctors and based his political conduct on his own experience of the world.

But the Sultān lacked practical judgment and common sense, and, rather obsessed with his theoretical knowledge, indulged in lofty theories and visionary projects. His schemes, though sound in theory, and sometimes showing flashes of political insight, proved to be impracticable in actual operation, and ultimately brought disaster on his kingdom. This was due to certain grave defects in his character. Hasty and hot-tempered, he must have his own way and would brook no opposition. The growing sense of the failure of his policy made him charge the people with perversity and enhanced his severity. Foiled in his aims, the Sultān lost the equilibrium of his mind. "Embarrassment followed embarrassment, and confusion became worse confounded." In course of a talk with Barnī, he exclaimed: "I visit them (the people) with chastisement upon the suspicion or presumption of their rebellious and treacherous designs, and I punish the most

trifling act of contumacy with death. This I will do until I die, or until the people act honestly, and give up rebellion and contumacy. I have no such *wazīr* as will make rules to obviate my shedding blood. I punish the people because they have all at once become my enemies and opponents. I have dispensed great wealth among them, but they have not become friendly and loyal."

These measures of the Sultān, as compared with his brighter qualities, have led some later writers to describe him as "a mixture of opposites". But others again have pointed out that he was not really an "amazing compound of contradictions" and that the charges of "blood-thirstiness and madness" were wrongly brought against him by the members of the clerical party, who always thwarted him in his policy. The Sultān's defects might have been exaggerated, but it cannot be denied that he was devoid of the keen insight of a statesman and thus could not adapt his policy to the sentiments of the people. His daring innovations were not welcome, as these entailed great hardships. He was, in short, a poor judge of human nature, who failed to realise that administrative reforms, however beneficial these may be, cannot be easily imposed on the people against their will and that repression generally breeds discontent if the vital interests of the people are affected. Thus, as Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole observes, "with the best intentions, excellent ideas, but no balance or patience, no sense of proportion, Muhammad Tughlak (*sic*) was a transcendent failure".

Like Philip II of Spain, Muhammad bin Tughluq set himself assiduously to looking into the details of administration from the beginning of his reign. He first ordered the compilation of a register of the land revenue on the model of the register already kept, and the revenue department then worked smoothly. But soon he tried an ill-advised financial experiment in the Doāb, the rich and fertile plain between the Ganges and the Jumnā. He enhanced the rate of taxation and revived and created some additional *abwābs* (cesses). It is not possible to determine accurately the actual amount of additional assessment, owing to discrepancies and vagueness in the accounts of contemporary and later Muslim writers.[1] Some modern writers suggest that the enhancement was not "fundamentally excessive" and did not exceed the maximum of 50 per cent that it had reached under

[1] Barnī (*Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Biblioth. Ind., p. 473) writes ten or twenty times more, which is wrongly translated by Elliot (Vol. III, pp. 182–3) as 10 or 5 p.c. According to *Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (p. 103), the increment was twentyfold and to this was added *ghari* (house-tax) and the *charāhi* (pasture tax). Badāūnī (Ranking, Vol. I, p. 305) writes that the taxes were doubled.

'Alā-ud-dīn. They also hold that the Sultān's object in levying extra taxes on the people of the Doāb was not "intended to be both a punitive measure (against the refractory inhabitants of the Doāb) and a means of replenishing the treasury", as Badāūnī and, in modern times, Sir Wolseley Haig have suggested, but to "increase his military resources and to organise the administration on an efficient basis". Whatever it might have been, there is no doubt that the measure entailed great miseries on the people of the Doāb, who had already been feeling the burden of heavy taxation since the time of the Khaljīs, especially because it was introduced at a very inopportune moment when a terrible famine visited the land. The State did not relax its demands in view of the famine, but its officers exacted taxes with rigour; and it also took no immediate steps to mitigate the hardships of the toiling peasantry. The Sultān's relief measures, like advancing loans to the agriculturists, sinking wells and "bringing the uncultivated lands under the plough by means of direct state management and financial support", came too late. Agriculture suffered terribly and the impoverished peasantry of the Doāb left their holdings and shifted to other places. In great fury, the Sultān adopted severe reprisals to bring back the reluctant ryots to their work, which produced disastrous consequences for the house of Tughluq.

Muhammad bin Tughluq's decision to transfer the capital in 1327[1] from Delhi to Devagiri, renamed by him Daulatābād, was another ill-calculated step, which ultimately caused immense suffering to the people. This project of the Sultān was not, as some modern writers have suggested, a wild experiment tried with the object of wreaking vengeance on the people of Delhi, but the idea behind it was originally sound. The new capital occupied a central and strategic situation. The kingdom then embraced within its sphere the Doāb, the plains of the Punjab and Lahore with the territories extending from the Indus to the coast of Gujarāt in the north, the whole province of Bengal in the east, the kingdoms of Mālwa, Mahoba, Ujjain and Dhār in the central region, and the Deccan, which had been recently added to it. Such a kingdom demanded close attention from the Sultān. Barnī writes: "This place held a central situation; Delhi, Gujarāt, Lakhnautī, Sātgāon, Sonārgāon, Telang, Ma'bar, Dorasamudra, and Kāmpila were about equidistant from thence, there being but a slight difference in the distances." Further, the new capital was safe from Mongol invasions, which

[1] This date has been established by Dr. Ishwari Prasad (*History of the Qaraunah Turks*, pp. 82–3) on a comparison of contemporary accounts and study of coins.

constantly threatened the old one. The Sultān also did his best to make the new capital a suitable abode for his officers, and the people, by providing it with beautiful buildings, the splendour of which has been described by Ibn Batūtah, 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, the court historian of Shāh Jahān's reign, and the European travellers of the seventeenth century. All facilities were provided for the intending immigrants. A spacious road was constructed for their convenience, shady trees being planted on both sides of it and a regular post being established between Delhi and Daulatābād. Even Barnī writes that the Sultān "was bounteous in his liberality and favours to the emigrants, both on their journey and on their arrival". In all this, the Sultān acted reasonably. ✓

But when the people of Delhi, out of sentiment, demurred at leaving their own homes which were associated with memories of the past, the Sultān's harsh temper got the better of his good sense, and he ordered all the people of Delhi to proceed *en masse* to Daulatābād with their belongings. We need not believe in the unwarranted statement of Ibn Batūtah that a blind man was dragged from Delhi to Daulatābād and that a bed-ridden cripple was projected there by a ballista. Nor should we literally accept the hyperbolic statement of Barnī that "not a cat or a dog was left among the buildings of the city (of Delhi), in its palaces or in its suburbs". Such forms of expression were common among the medieval writers of India. Complete destruction or evacuation of the city is unthinkable. But the sufferings of the people of Delhi were undoubtedly considerable in a long journey of 700 miles. Worn out with fatigue, many of them died on the way, and many who reached Daulatābād followed suit in utter despair and agony like exiles in a strange land. Such were the disastrous results of the Sultān's miscalculated plan. "Daulatābād," remarks Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole aptly, "was a monument of misdirected energy."

The Sultān, having at last recognised the folly and iniquity of his policy, reshifted the court to Delhi and ordered a return march of the people. But very few survived to return, and Delhi had lost its former prosperity and grandeur, which could not be restored until long after, though the Sultān "brought learned men and gentlemen, tradesmen and landowners, into the city (of Delhi) from certain towns in his territory, and made them reside there". Ibn Batūtah found Delhi in A.D. 1334 deserted in some places and bearing the marks of ruin.

Muhammad bin Tughluq tried important monetary experiments. Edward Thomas has described him as "a Prince of Moneyers"

and writes that "one of the earliest acts of his reign was to remodel the coinage, to readjust its divisions to the altered values of the precious metals, and to originate new and more exact representatives of the subordinate circulation". A new gold piece, called the *Dinār* by Ibn Batūtah, weighing 200 grains, was issued by him. He also revived the *Adali*, equivalent in weight to 140 grains of silver, in place of the old gold and silver coins weighing 175 grains. This change was probably due to a "fall in the relative value of gold to silver, the imperial treasury having been replenished by large quantities of the former metal as a result of the campaigns of the Deccan".

But the most daring of his experiments was the issue of a token currency in copper coins between A.D. 1329 and 1330 for which there had been examples before him in China and Persia. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, Kublai Khān, the Mongol Emperor of China, introduced a paper currency in China, and Gai Khātū, the ruler of Persia, tried it in A.D. 1294. Muhammad bin Tughluq also issued a decree proclaiming that in all transactions copper tokens should pass as legal tender like gold and silver coins. The motives of the Sultān behind this measure were to replenish his exhausted exchequer and find increased resources for his plans of conquest and administration. So he cannot be accused of any device or design to defraud the people.

This "carefully organised measure", however, failed, owing chiefly to two causes. Firstly, it was far in advance of the time and the people could not grasp its real significance. Secondly, the Sultān did not make the issue of the copper coins a monopoly of the State, and failed to take proper precautions against forgery. As Thomas writes, "there was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the Royal Mint and the handiwork of the moderately skilled artisan. Unlike the precautions taken to prevent the imitation of Chinese paper notes, there was positively no check upon the authenticity of the copper tokens, and no limit to the power of production of the masses at large". The result was that large numbers of counterfeit coins obtained circulation. We are told by Barnī that "the promulgation of this edict turned the house of every Hindu into a mint, and the Hindus of the various provinces coined krores and lacs of copper coins. With these they paid their tribute, and with these they purchased horses, arms and fine things of all kinds. The *rais*, the village headmen and land-owners, grew rich and strong upon these copper coins, but the State was impoverished. . . . In those places where fear of the Sultān's edict prevailed, the gold *tankā* rose to be worth a hundred

of (the copper) *tankās*. Every goldsmith struck copper coins in his own workshop, and the treasury was filled with these copper coins. So low did they fall that they were not valued more than pebbles or potsherds. The old coin, from its great scarcity, rose four-fold and five-fold in value". Trade and industries were in consequence severely affected, and confusion reigned supreme. The Sultān recognised his error and repealed his edict about four years after the introduction of the currency. He paid for every copper coin brought to the treasury at its face value in gold and silver coins, and the public funds were thus sacrificed without any corresponding benefit to the State. So many copper coins were brought to Delhi that heaps of them were accumulated at Tughluqābād, which could be seen a century later in the reign of Mubārak Shāh II.

The Delhi Sultānate was not absolutely free from external danger during this reign. In A.D. 1328–1329 the Chaghātaī chief, Tarmāshīrīn Khān, of Transoxiana invaded India. He ravaged the plains of the Punjab and reached the outskirts of Delhi. The change of the capital from Delhi, and probably the weak defence of the north-west frontier by the Delhi rulers, gave him the opportunity for this ambitious design. According to Yahiyā bin Ahmad and Badāūnī, Muhammad bin Tughluq defeated him and drove him out of the country, while Ferishta writes that the Sultān bought him off by paying large presents in gold and jewels, which he describes "as the price of the kingdom". Be that as it may, "the invasion was no more than a raid, and Tarmāshīrīn disappeared as suddenly as he had come".

Like 'Alā-ud-dīn, Muhammad bin Tughluq cherished extravagant visions of universal conquest. Encouraged by some Khurāsānī nobles, who had come to the Sultān's court, being tempted by his lavish generosity, and had their selfish motives to serve, the latter formed, during the early years of his reign, the ambitious design of conquering Khurāsān and Irāk and mobilised a huge army for this purpose. Barnī writes that 370,000 men were enrolled in the *Diwān-i-'arz* or muster-master's office and were paid by the State for one full year. It is indeed true that Khurāsān was then in a state of disorder under its profligate monarch Abu Saīd, which might be taken advantage of by any external enemy. But its conquest was certainly an impossible task on the part of the Sultān of Delhi, whose authority could hardly be regarded as being established on a secure basis throughout his own kingdom, especially in the Deccan. There were also geographical and transport difficulties of no insignificant nature. To mobilise a large army through the passes of the Hindukush or the Himālayas, and arrange for its

provisions in distant lands, were tasks of gigantic magnitude. It is also worthy of consideration how far it was possible for the Delhi soldiers, who had so long gained successes against the weak and divided Indian powers, to measure their strength successfully with the hardy hordes of Central Asia. Further, Tarmāshīrīn Khān the Chaghātaī chief, and the Sultān of Egypt, both of whom coveted the eastern and western frontiers of the distracted Persian Empire, were insincere allies of the Delhi Sultān, more determined to serve their own interests than help him in his projected invasion. Thus the Delhi Sultān's "scheme was impolitic in the highest degree" from every point of view. It had to be abandoned, probably for lack of money. Barnī writes: "The coveted countries were not acquired . . . and his treasure, which is the true source of political power, was expended."

Muhammad bin Tughluq never entertained the fantastic idea of conquering Tibet and China. But Barnī, a contemporary officer, and Ibn Batūtah clearly refer to his design of "capturing the mountain of Kara-jal . . . which lies between the territories of Hind (India) and those of China". Evidently the expedition was directed against some refractory tribes in the Kumāūn-Garhwāl region with the object of bringing them under the control of the Delhi Sultān. A large army was sent from Delhi in the year A.D. 1337–1338 under the command of an able general.

But after an initial success, the Delhi troops suffered terribly owing to geographical difficulties, setting in of the rains, and lack of provisions. Only a few of them (ten according to Barnī, three according to Ibn Batūtah) survived to relate the story of the tragic fate of the expedition. Its immediate objective was, however, gained, as the hillmen came to terms and agreed to pay tribute to the Delhi Sultān.

But the cumulative effect of all the fantastic projects of Muhammad bin Tughluq proved disastrous for him. They caused immense miseries to the people of his kingdom, who were afflicted at the same time by the ravages of famine, and finally exhausted their patience. Popular discontent found expression in open revolts against the Sultān's authority, and his whole reign was distracted by repeated rebellions, which increased the severity of his temper, undermined his prestige and authority, and accelerated the dismemberment of his vast empire.

The two early rebellions were put down with comparative ease, and the insurgents were given exemplary punishments. Bahā-ud-dīn Gurshāsp, sister's son to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq and so first cousin to Muhammad bin Tughluq, who held the fief of Sāgar, situated about

ten miles north of Shorāpur in the Deccan, refused to recognise the Sultān's authority and rebelled against him in A.D. 1326 or 1327. But he was captured by the imperialists, and sent to Delhi. He was flayed alive there, his dead body was paraded round the city, and his execution was proclaimed by way of warning to others: "Thus shall all traitors to their king perish." A more serious rebellion, which broke out in the next year, was that of Bahrām Aiba, surnamed Kishlū Khān, who held the fiefs of Uch, Sind and Multān. Muhammad bin Tughluq, who was then at Devagiri, marched to Multān by way of Delhi and inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebel in a fight in the plain of Abuhar.[1] The Sultān was inclined to order a general massacre of the inhabitants of Multān, but was restrained from doing so by the saint Rukn-ud-dīn. Bahrām was captured and beheaded and his head was hung up in the gate of the city of Multān by way of warning to persons of rebellious disposition.

But the suppression of these two rebellions did not in any way strengthen the Sultān's position. Rather, from A.D. 1335, his fortunes began to wane and his authority to be openly defied by Hindu chiefs and Muslim governors of provinces, who were even emboldened to assert their independence. Taking advantage of the Sultān's engagements in Northern India, Jalāl-ud-dīn Ahsan Shāh, governor of Ma'bar, proclaimed himself independent in A.D. 1335[2] and struck coins in his own name. The Sultān marched in person against him, but on reaching Warangal, was forced by an outbreak of cholera in his camp to retreat to Daulatābād. Thus came into existence the independent Muslim kingdom of Madura, which existed till A.D. 1377–1378, when it fell before the rising State of Vijayanagar. This kingdom of Vijayanagar was founded according to tradition in A.D. 1336.

In the north, Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, governor of the province of Bengal, the loyalty of which to the Delhi Sultānate had been always dubious, soon threw off his allegiance to it in A.D. 1338 and struck coins in his own name. The Sultān of Delhi, then preoccupied with other troubles, could do nothing to subdue him, and Bengal thus became an independent province. Rebellions followed in quick succession also in other parts of the Empire, the most formidable one being that of 'Ain-ul-mulk, the governor of Oudh and Zafarābād, in A.D. 1340–41. All these were indeed

[1] Now a small town situated in Fazalkah *tahsil*, Firozepore district, on the South Punjab Railway. For topographical details *vide* Major Raverty's article on *The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries*, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1892, Vol. I.

[2] This date has been established by Dr. E. Hultzsch on numismatic evidence. *Vide* his article on *The Coinage of the Sultāns of Madura*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1909.

put down by the end of the year A.D. 1342, but they badly affected the resources of the State, exhausted the energy of the Sultān and damped his spirits.

In this extremely embarrassing situation, the Sultān sought pontifical recognition to strengthen his waning authority by obtaining a patent from the 'Abbasid Khalifah of Egypt. The desired patent came and Muhammad bin Tughluq caused his name to be replaced by that of the Khalifah on the *Khutba* and the coins. But his object was not fulfilled. The loyalty and confidence of his people had been too rudely shaken to be restored by the force of the Khalifah's patent. In fact, no one had questioned the Sultān's title to the throne; but it was his policy and measures which were not to the liking of his subjects.

Additional difficulties were staring him in the face from different quarters in all their grimness. In the Deccan, rulers like the Kākatīya prince, Kṛishṇa Nāyaka, son of Pratāparudradeva II, Harihara I of Vijayanagar, the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāla IV, son of Ballāla III, and Prolaya Vema, the Reddi chief of Kondavīd, organised a confederacy against his domination in A.D. 1344 and succeeded in bringing Warangal, Dorasamudra, and the country along the Coromandel Coast, out of his grasp. The Sultān's persecution of the "*Centurions*" (*amirān-i-sadah*) aggravated his troubles and "insurrection followed upon insurrection". The foreign Amīrs revolted in Devagiri and the foundation of the Bahmanī kingdom was laid by Abul Muzaffar 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahman Shāh, early in August, 1347. When the Sultān proceeded to quell a disturbance in one part, another broke out in a different quarter. While thus occupied in chasing the rebels in Sind, he was attacked with fever near Tattah and died on 20th March, A.D. 1351. "And so," remarks Badāūnī, "the king was freed from his people and they from their king." In fact, the whole reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq dragged on through baffled aims to a pathetic end, marked by the dismemberment of his vast empire of twenty-three provinces. There can be no doubt that the Sultān himself was largely responsible for this tragedy. Endowed with extraordinary intellect and industry, he lacked the essential qualities of a constructive statesman, and his ill-advised measures and stern policy, enforced in disregard of popular will, sealed the doom of his empire.

3. Fīrūz Shāh, Son of Rajab

The sudden death of Muhammad bin Tughluq near Tattah threw his leaderless army, already embarrassed by the presence of women

and children in the camp, into great confusion and disorder. For two days it was harassed and plundered by the rebels of Sind and the Mongol mercenaries, who had been hired to help the Sultān's army against the rebel Taghī. In this extremity, the nobles urged Fīrūz to ascend the throne and save the dispirited army from destruction. Fīrūz after some hesitation to accept the crown, in which he was probably sincere, submitted to the choice of the nobles, and was proclaimed king, at the age of forty-six, on the 23rd March, 1351. He succeeded in restoring order in the army and set out for Delhi with it. But hardly had he come out of Sind before Khwāja-i-Jahān, the Deputy of the late Sultān, had proclaimed at Delhi a boy as the son and heir of Muhammad bin Tughluq and raised him to the throne. The situation was indeed a critical one for Fīrūz, who, on reaching Multān, held consultations with the nobles and the Muslim jurists. The former refused to admit the existence of any son of Muhammad bin Tughluq and the latter considered Khwāja-i-Jahān's candidate disqualified on the ground of minority. The question was not considered from the legal point of view. It was irrelevant to do so, for in Muslim law sovereignty was not considered to be a matter of "inherited right". As the cause of the boy king was hopeless, Khwāja-i-Jahān soon submitted to Fīrūz, who pardoned him in consideration of his past services and ordered him to go to the fief of Sāmāna to spend his last days there in retirement. But on the way he was beheaded by a follower of Sher Khān, the commandant of Sunām and Sāmāna, at the instigation of his master and other nobles and chiefs of the army. Fīrūz showed weakness in allowing the old officer, of whose innocence he was convinced, to fall a victim to the vengeance of the nobles.

The question as to whether Fīrūz's accession was regular or not is a disputed one. Fīrūz was Muhammad's first cousin, the son of Ghiyās-ud-dīn's younger brother Rajab by his Bhatti wife, who was the daughter of Rānā Mall, the chief of Abuhar. He was trained in the art of government by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq and Muhammad bin Tughluq, and the latter, according to the contemporary chronicler, Barnī, had left a testament nominating him as his heir-apparent. But the authenticity of this testament has been questioned by Sir Wolseley Haig, who is of opinion that the child whom Khwāja-i-Jahān raised to the throne was not "a supposititious son" of Muhammad bin Tughluq but was an issue of his blood. This view is not shared by some scholars. Whatever it might have been, there is no doubt that the nobles and the jurists selected Fīrūz partly on the ground of necessity. His succession,

according to some, "asserted once more with great force the right of election that had been gradually receding in the background without, however, denying the right of the son to rule. The case also emphasised fitness against merely close relationship to the sovereign".

The task before Fīrūz was indeed a difficult one,—that of raising the Delhi Sultānate from the state of decrepitude and demoralisation into which it had fallen since the closing years of his predecessor's reign. But the new Sultān was ill-fitted for it. He was weak, vacillating and incapable of sustained efforts, and lacked the essential qualities of good generalship. He made no serious attempts to recover the lost provinces of the Empire, and his military enterprises were mostly unsuccessful. In critical moments during his campaigns, he withdrew from them when almost on the point of victory, to avoid shedding the blood of his co-religionists. "His generalship in his two campaigns to Bengal and his eventual reduction of the Thatta, seems," remarks Thomas, "to have been of the lowest order; and the way that he allowed himself to be deluded into the deserts of Cutch, or the defiles of Jājnagar, seems to savour of positive fatuity."

In the east Hājī Iliyās, the independent ruler of Bengal, who had styled himself Shams-ud-dīn Iliyās Shāh, was engaged in extending the frontiers of his kingdom in various directions and "ravaged" those of the Delhi kingdom. Fīrūz thereupon marched from Delhi, at the head of 70,000 horse, in November A.D. 1353 to repel him. On hearing of his advance, Iliyās retreated into the fort of Ikdāla, situated probably at a distance of ten or twelve miles from Pāndua.[1] But he was attacked there by the Delhi troops and defeated. Fīrūz, however, did not reap the full advantage of his hard-earned victory, because without annexing Bengal, which was urged by his commander, Tārtār Khān, he came back to Delhi on 1st September, 1354. There are two different versions regarding the cause of his undignified retreat. According to Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, the official historian of Fīrūz's reign, the Sultān retreated, being moved by the shrieks and wailings of the women in the besieged fort. But some later writers have attributed it to his apprehension of disasters at the commencement of the rainy season. Whatever might have been the cause of his retreat, one has to agree with Thomas' statement that "the invasion only resulted in the confession of weakness".

[1] The exact site of this fort has not yet been definitely fixed. For detailed accounts of it, *vide Calcutta Review*, 1874; *J.A.S.B.*, 1874; and *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Bib. Ind., p. 591 footnote.

Fīrūz made another attempt to reduce Bengal to submission in the course of a few years. He found a pretext for it when Zafar Khān, son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh of Eastern Bengal, fled from Sonārgāon to his court *via* the sea-route and complained to him of the highhandedness of the Bengal ruler. The death of the brave and able ruler, Shams-ud-dīn Iliyās, encouraged Fīrūz to organise an expedition against Bengal. Brushing aside all previous treaties and assurances of friendship, he marched, at the head of a large army, against Sikandar Shāh, the son and successor of Shams-ud-dīn Iliyās, in A.D. 1359. On his way he halted for six months at Zafarābād on the Gumti and founded in its neighbourhood the city of Jaunpur, in memory of his cousin, Fakhr-ud-dīn Jauna (Muhammad bin Tughluq). At the end of the rainy season, he resumed his march towards Bengal. As he sent no response to the friendly negotiations of Sikandar Shāh, the latter, following his father's example, retreated into the mud fortress of Ikdāla. The Delhi troops besieged this fortress, but its reduction did not prove to be child's play. The Bengal troops bravely defended their stronghold, "until the rains drew near and the floods came to help their cause" against the besiegers. A peace was soon concluded on favourable terms for Sikandar. Thus, the second Bengal expedition of the Delhi Sultān was as abortive as the first one. It merely exhibited once more his weak and vacillating nature.

On his way back to Delhi, the Sultān halted for some time at Jaunpur, and then marched against Jājnagar (modern Orissa). The Rāi of this place fled, on the approach of the Delhi troops, towards Telingāna, and soon tendered his submission by surrendering some elephants and promising to send to Delhi a number of elephants annually as tribute. Fīrūz returned to Delhi, undergoing great difficulties and privations, after an absence of two years and a half.

The reduction of the fortress of Nagarkot, which though conquered by Muhammad bin Tughluq in A.D. 1337 had slipped out of Delhi control during the closing years of the Sultān's reign, engaged the attention of Fīrūz shortly after his return to Delhi. On reaching Nagarkot, he besieged the fortress there for six months, when its Rāi submitted to him. Fīrūz's Nagarkot campaign is interesting because of the fact that he caused 300 volumes of Sanskrit books on various subjects, preserved in the temple of Jwālamukhī, to be rendered into Persian verse under the title of *Dalā'il-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, by a court-poet named A'azz-ud-dīn Khālid Khānī.

In 1361–62 Fīrūz resumed the task of conquering Sind, which had been abandoned on the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq about eleven

years back. He marched towards Tattah, the capital of the Jāms of Sind, with 90,000 cavalry, many infantry, 480 elephants, and 5,000 boats. The then ruler of Sind, Jām Bābaniya, decided to meet him and formed a battle army with 20,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry. The Delhi army suffered greatly, owing to the outbreak of famine and an epizootic disease, which carried off about three-quarters of it. Intending to gather fresh reinforcements, the Sultān retreated to Gujarāt. But being misled by some treacherous guides, he drifted away into the Rann of Cutch, and for six months nothing could be discovered regarding the fate of his army. Additional troops being, however, sent from Delhi by his able minister, Khān-i-Jahān Maqbūl, the Sultān again attacked the Sindians in 1363 and forced them to sue for peace. The Sindians agreed to pay an annual tribute of several lacs of *tankās* to the Sultān and acknowledged allegiance to his authority. But his expeditions to Sind, like his Bengal campaigns, revealed his lack of military ability and tactical skill.

There were no Mongol inroads during the reign of Fīrūz. We are told by Yahiyā that the "frontiers of the kingdom were secured by placing them under great armies and the well-wishers of the Emperor".

But no attempt was made by Fīrūz to bring the Deccan under the control of the Delhi Sultānate. When his officers asked him to undertake an expedition to Daulatābād, he, as Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf puts it, "looked distressed and his eyes were suffused with tears, and approving their arguments, he said that . . . he was resolved never more to make war upon men of the Muhammadan faith".

Fīrūz's policy was largely influenced by his religious outlook. He entertained great regard for the Khalifah of Egypt. For the first time in the history of Muslim India he styled himself as his deputy; during the first six years of his reign he twice received a patent of rulership and robes of honour from him; and on his coins his own name was associated with that of the Khalifah. He tried to conduct the affairs of the State according to the theocratic principles of his faith. He encouraged his subjects, belonging to other persuasions, "to embrace the religion" in which he himself found solace, and framed regulations which deviated from the religious policy that had hitherto been pursued by his predecessors.

Probably with a view to conciliating the nobles and the officials, Fīrūz revived the *jāgīr* system, which had been abolished by 'Alā-ud-dīn, and farmed out the whole kingdom among them besides granting them increased salaries and allowances. Though these

measures apparently strengthened the position of the new Sultān, they ultimately served to engender a tendency to decentralisation, which undermined the authority of the central government.

But with all the above-mentioned defects, Fīrūz has a record of some benevolent measures to his credit, and his long reign of about thirty-seven years was a period of comparative prosperity and happiness for the people. He abolished many vexatious and unjust cesses, which had been levied upon the people during the previous reigns, and devised taxation according to the spirit of the Quranic Law. He allowed the imposition of four kinds of taxes sanctioned by the Quran—the *khārāj* or tenth from cultivated lands, the *zakāt* or alms, the *jizya* or poll-tax on the non-Muslims and other heretics, and the *khams* or one-fifth of the spoil and of the produce of mines. In consultation with the canonists, he also levied an irrigation tax (*sharb*) at the rate of 10 per cent of the produce of the fields. The spoils of war were to be shared by the State and the soldiers, as prescribed by the Quran, the former getting one-fifth of the spoil and the latter four-fifths. The merchants were relieved from the payment of some irregular and oppressive *octroi* duties, which obstructed free circulation of merchandise from one part of the country to another. The State officers were strictly warned against demanding anything more than the prescribed dues, and were punished for unjust exactions. The results of these measures were indeed beneficial for trade and agriculture. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, though a panegyrist of the Sultān, with whose court he was frequently associated, writes with much truth that, as a result of these regulations, the *ryots* grew rich and were satisfied. "Their homes were replete with grain, property, horses and furniture; everyone had plenty of gold and silver; no woman was without her ornaments and no house without good beds and *divans*. Wealth abounded and comforts were general. The State did not suffer from financial bankruptcy during this reign. The revenues of the Doāb amounted to eighty lacs of *tankās* and those of the territories of Delhi to six crores and eighty-five lacs of *tankās*." Prices of the articles of common consumption also became low.[1]

The construction of a system of irrigation canals contributed greatly towards the improvement of agriculture. Two streams are mentioned by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf to have been excavated under the orders of Fīrūz—one from the Sutlej and the other from the

[1] The prices of articles have been thus stated by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf:

Wheat . .	1 man	8 jitals	Dal . . .	10 seers	1 jitals
Barley . .	,,	4 ,,	Ghee . .	1 seer	2½ ,,
Grain . .	,,	4 ,,	Sugar . .	,,	3½ ,,

Jumnā. But Yahiyā, who, as an inhabitant of Sirhind, had a better knowledge of the canal system, writes of four canals being constructed during this reign: (*a*) one from the Sutlej to the Ghaghar, (*b*) a second opened in the vicinity of the Mandavī and Sirmur hills, and joined by seven creeks, was extended as far as Hānsī, and thence to Arasanī, where the foundation of the fort of Hissār Fīrūzā was laid, (*c*) the third flowing from the Ghaghar by the fort of Sirsuti went up to the village of Hirani-Khera, (*d*) and the fourth being excavated from the Jumnā was extended to Fīrūzābād and then passed further beyond it. Fīrūz employed skilled engineers to superintend the canals, and especially to examine and report on them during the rainy season. Another beneficial step on his part was the reclamation of waste lands, the income accruing from which was spent for religious and educational purposes.

Fīrūz's building and gardening activities indirectly benefited the people. He had a great passion for building new cities and renaming old ones. He himself says: "Among the many gifts which God bestowed upon me, His humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings. So I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries, that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy, might worship God in these edifices, and aid the kind builder with their prayers." He founded the town of Jaunpur, Fatehābād, Hissār, Fīrūzpur near Badāūn, and Fīrūzābād, at a distance of ten miles from his capital. During his Bengal campaigns, he renamed Ikdāla "*Azadpur*" and Pāndua "*Fīrūzābād*". He constructed or restored a number of mosques, palaces, *sarāis*, reservoirs, hospitals, tombs, baths, monumental pillars and bridges. The chief architect of the State was Malik Ghāzī Sahana, who was helped by 'Abdul Huq. The Sultān's interest in gardening led him to lay out 1,200 new gardens near Delhi and restore thirty old gardens of 'Alā-ud-dīn. He also removed two inscribed monoliths of Aśoka to Delhi—one from a village near Khizrābād on the upper Jumnā and the other from Meerut.

While conforming to the principles of the Quranic law in the administration of justice, Fīrūz tried to make the judicial system more humane than before. We have in his own words: "In the reigns of former kings . . . many varieties of torture were employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet, and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek

for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Mussalmāns, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men." Some benevolent measures were also adopted by him for the general welfare of the people, who, according to all contemporary writers, held him in great respect. He tried to solve the unemployment problem by starting an employment bureau, and providing employment for as many as possible after a thorough enquiry into each man's merit and capacity. He further established a charity bureau (*Diwān-i-Khairāt*), through which pecuniary help was distributed for the marriage of girls of needy Muslims, chiefly of the middle class, and for the benefit of widows and orphans. He founded a charitable hospital (*Dār-ul-Shafā*), where medicines and diet were supplied by efficient physicians at the cost of the State.

Fīrūz did not issue absolutely new varieties of coins. The coins prevalent during his reign had already been in circulation in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Even the *Shashghani* or six-jital piece, which is especially attributed to him by 'Afīf, has been referred to by Ibn Batūtah. But credit must be conceded to him for having introduced two fractions of mixed copper and silver coinage—half and quarter jitals, described as *adhā* (half) and *bikh* respectively. These mixed pieces facilitated the transactions of the common people and gave the coinage considerable metallic strength. But much of their utility was spoiled by fraud and peculation in the working of the mint.

The army of the State was organised on a feudal basis. The regular soldiers of the army received grants of lands, sufficient for their comfortable living, and the irregulars (*ghairwajh*) were paid direct from the royal treasury. Those who did not get their salaries in either of these ways, were supplied with transferable assignments on the revenue. The last method of payment proved to be a source of great abuse. The assignments were purchased in the capital by some middle-men at one-third of their value, and they sold them to the soldiers in the districts at one-half. Thus a class of people made clandestine gains, without any labour on their part, at the expense of the soldiers. The State army consisted of eighty or ninety thousand cavalry, which could be reinforced by the retainers of the nobles. But it is doubtful if the army was really efficient. Its strength must have been greatly undermined by the Sultān's unwise generosity towards the soldiers. He passed a new regulation to the effect that when a soldier became incapable of service in the field through old age, his son, or son-in-law, or slave, should step into his place. The recognition of this

hereditary claim in military services, irrespective of any consideration of fitness, was undoubtedly a pernicious practice.

The reign of Fīrūz was marked by an unprecedented rise in the number of slaves,[1] for whom the State maintained a separate establishment. The fief-holders in different parts of the kingdom made presents of slaves to the Sultān, for which corresponding deductions were made from the taxes payable by them to the Government. Thus the institution of slavery entailed a heavy loss on the central exchequer.[1]

Though generally opposed to gorgeous display, Fīrūz, like his predecessors, maintained a magnificent and luxurious court, which was, as Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf says, especially decorated during the *Id* and *Shabrāt* festivals. There were also thirty-six royal establishments, each having a separate staff of officers to look after its affairs. The expenses for the maintenance of the court and the household establishments of the Sultān must have been considerable.

Fīrūz's minister, Khān-i-Jahān Maqbūl, exercised a potent influence in the affairs of the State. He was originally a Hindu of Telingāna but subsequently embraced Islam and had an official career under Muhammad bin Tughluq before he rose to this eminent position in the reign of Fīrūz. He died in A.D. 1370 and was succeeded in his office and emoluments by his son, Jūna Shāh, who also received his title. On the death of Zafar Khān, the governor of Gujārat, in the next year, his son, Daryā Khān, succeeded him in his office. Later the Sultān received a severe shock from the death of his eldest son, Fath Khān, on the 23rd July, 1374. This gravely affected both his mind and body.

As was the case with most of the Sultāns of Delhi, the last days of Fīrūz were far from peaceful. His judgment failed as he advanced in age, and the efficiency of the government declined. He committed a blunder in trying to share authority with his eldest surviving son, Muhammad Khān, an incompetent youth, who gave himself up to pleasures instead of looking after the administration of the State. A civil war ensued even during the lifetime of the Sultān, and Muhammad Khān fled towards the Sirmūr hills. Fīrūz then conferred the royal title, and the position held by Muhammad Khān, on his grandson, Tughluq Khān, son of the deceased Fath Khān, before he died on the 20th September, 1388.

Contemporary Indian writers are unanimous in admiring the virtues of Fīrūz Shāh. In their opinion, no king, since the time of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, had been "so just and kind, so

[1] According to Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf the number of slaves in the capital and the provinces rose to 180,000. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 341.

courteous and God-fearing, or such a builder" as Fīrūz was. Fīrūz indeed possessed excellent qualities of heart, such as affection and benevolence; and his reign was marked by peace and prosperity. But his indiscriminate generosity and concessions contributed in no small degree to the dismemberment of the Delhi Sultānate in the long run. His revival of the *jāgīr* system also produced a tendency towards decentralisation to the prejudice of the integrity of the State.

4. The Successors of Fīrūz Shāh, Son of Rajab

The immediate successor of Fīrūz was his grandson, Tughluq Shāh, who assumed the title of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh II. He soon fell a victim to a conspiracy of some officers and nobles on the 19th February, A.D. 1389. The nobles at Delhi then acclaimed his cousin, Abu Baqr, as the Sultān. At the same time the partisans of Fīrūz's son, Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad, proclaimed him king at Sāmāna on the 24th April, 1389. Abu Baqr was forced to surrender to his rivals, and was deposed, in December 1390. Largely owing to the strain of his struggle against various difficulties, the health of Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad declined and he died in January 1394. Then came the brief reign of his son, Humāyūn, who died on the 8th March following. The next and the last ruler of the Tughluq dynasty was Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the youngest son of Muhammad. His rival, Nusrat Shāh, a son of Fath Khān, the eldest son of Fīrūz, made an attempt to gain the throne at the instigation of some nobles, but it proved futile and he was treacherously put to death.

All the successors of Fīrūz were weaklings and utterly incompetent to save the Delhi Sultānate from disruption, the symptoms of which had already appeared. They were mere puppets in the hands of some unscrupulous nobles, whose selfish intrigues largely fomented the civil wars among the rival claimants to the throne of Delhi. These told heavily upon the prestige and resources of the State, with the result that its authority began to be defied almost everywhere by the Muslim governors and Hindu chiefs. The eunuch Malik Sarvar, who had persuaded Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd to bestow upon him the title of *Malik-ush-Sharq*, or Lord of the East, founded the independent kingdom of Jaunpur; the Khokars revolted in the north; the provinces of Gujarāt, Mālwa, and Khāndesh became independent States; Muslim principalities were established in Biyāna and Kalpi and a Hindu principality in Gwālior; the chief of Mewāt transferred his nominal allegiance from one prince to another at his own sweet will; and the Hindus of the Doāb were almost constantly in revolt.

5. Invasion of Tīmūr

Such was the distracted and chaotic condition of the kingdom of Delhi when Amīr Tīmūr, one of the most terrible military leaders known to history, invaded India. Amīr Tīmūr, son of Amīr Turghay, chief of the Gurkan branch of the Barlās Turks, was born at Kesh in Transoxiana in A.D. 1336. He ascended the throne of Samarqānd in 1369 and then launched on a career of aggressive conquests in Persia, Afghānistān and Mesopotamia. The wealth of India naturally excited the temptation to invade this land, for which the disintegration of the Delhi kingdom afforded him a suitable opportunity. He used his championship of the faith as a pretext to win the support of the nobles and warriors, who were not in favour of his meditated invasion of this distant land.

Early in 1398 Pīr Muhammad, a grandson of Tīmūr, besieged Multān and captured it after six months. Tīmūr left Samarqānd in April, 1398, at the head of a large army, and having crossed the Indus, the Jhelum and the Rāvī in September, appeared before Talamba, situated about seventy miles to the north-east of Multān, on the 13th October of the same year. He sacked Talamba and massacred or enslaved its inhabitants. After capturing several places on his way and massacring many of their inhabitants, he advanced to the outskirts of Delhi by the end of the first week of December, and butchered there about 100,000 adult male captives in cold blood. Sultān Mahmūd and Mallū Iqbāl endeavoured to oppose him there on the 17th December with a large army consisting of 10,000 cavalry, 40,000 infantry and 120 elephants, clad in armour. But they were hopelessly defeated and took to their heels, Mallū fleeing to Baran and Mahmūd to Gujarāt.

On the next day Tīmūr entered the city of Delhi, which was given up to pillage and rapine for several days. Many of the inhabitants of this unfortunate city were either brutally massacred by the ferocious Turki soldiers or made captives, and the artisans among them were sent to Samarqānd to build there the famous Friday Mosque which Tīmūr himself had designed. Thus a tragic fate overtook the capital city of the Sultāns of Delhi.

Tīmūr had no desire to stay in India. After halting at Delhi for fifteen days, he returned through Fīrūzābād (1st January, 1399), stormed Meerut (9th January,) on the way and advancing further north defeated two Hindu armies in the neighbourhood of Hardwār in January. Marching along the Siwālik Hills, he captured Kāngra (16th January) and sacked Jammu, the inhabitants of those places being slaughtered in large numbers.

He appointed Khizr Khān Sayyid to the government of Multān, Lahore and Dīpālpūr, and recrossed the Indus on the 19th March, "after inflicting on India more misery than had ever before been inflicted by any conqueror in a single invasion".

Nature also proved cruel to the people of Delhi at this critical time and added to their miseries caused by the ravages of bloody wars and devastations. "At this time," writes Badāūnī, "such a famine and pestilence fell upon Delhi that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi." Tīmūr, in short, completed the dissolution of the Tughluq kingdom, the vitality of which had already been sapped by internal cankers. Bengal had long been independent; Khwāja Jahān had been ruling over an independent kingdom comprising Kanauj, Oudh, Kara, Dalmau, Sandila, Bahraich, Bihār and Jaunpur; in Gujarāt, Muzaffar Shāh owed no allegiance to anybody; in Mālwa, Dilāwar Khān exercised royal authority; the Punjab and Upper Sind were held by Khizr Khān as Tīmūr's viceroy; and Ghālib Khān had established his power in Sāmāna, Shams Khān Auhadi in Bayāna, and Muhammad Khān in Kālpī and Mahoba. To make confusion worse confounded, the decay of political authority in Delhi emboldened the unscrupulous nobles and adventurers to indulge more and more in base intrigues. Some of them helped Nusrat Shāh, who had been so long lurking in the Doāb, to take possession of Delhi in 1399, but he was defeated and expelled from that city by Mallū Iqbāl. On returning to Delhi in 1401, Mallū Iqbāl extended an invitation to Sultān Mahmūd, who had found shelter at Dhār after experiencing many bitter humiliations in Gujarāt, to return to Delhi. He thought that the "prestige of the fugitive Mahmūd Shāh would be useful to him". Sultān Mahmūd returned to Delhi only to remain as a puppet in the hands of Mallū Iqbāl till the latter's death in a fight with Khizr Khān, the governor of Multān, Dīpālpūr and Upper Sind, on the 12th November, 1405. Being a weak king, Mahmūd could not make proper use of his restored position. He died at Kaithal in February, 1413, after a nominal sovereignty of about twenty years, and with him the dynasty founded by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq came to an ignominious end.

CHAPTER V

DISINTEGRATION OF THE DELHI SULTĀNATE

1. Delhi : The Sayyids and the Lodīs

A. The so-called Sayyids

AFTER the death of Sultān Mahmūd, the nobles of Delhi acknowledged Daulat Khān Lodī, the most powerful of their number, as the ruler of Delhi. But he was destined to hold power only for a few months. In March, A.D. 1414, Khizr Khān, governor of Multān and its dependencies on behalf of Tīmūr, marched against him and took possession of Delhi by the end of May of the same year. Daulat Khān was sent as a prisoner to Hissār Fīrūzā. Some historians represent Khizr Khān as a descendant of the Prophet, and the dynasty founded by him has accordingly been styled the Sayyid Dynasty. But the arguments in favour of this claim seem to be very doubtful, though Khizr's ancestors might have originally hailed from Arabia. Khizr did not assume the insignia of royalty but professed to rule as a viceroy of Tīmūr's fourth son and successor, Shāh Rukh, to whom he is said to have sent tribute. His tenure of power for seven years was not marked by any striking event. The extent of the old Delhi kingdom had then been reduced to a small principality, and the authority of its ruler was limited to a few districts round Delhi. Even in those parts, it was frequently challenged by the Hindu zamindārs of Etāwah, Katehr, Kanauj, Patiālī and Kampila. Khizr Khān and his loyal minister, Tāj-ul-mulk, who was also an intrepid fighter, struggled hard against these chronic disorders till the latter died on the 13th January, 1421, and the former on the 20th May, 1421. Ferishta extols Khizr Khān as "a just, a generous and a benevolent prince", but he was not a strong ruler. Owing to the efforts Khizr Khān made, "there were, of course, the ordinary concessions to expediency . . . submission (by the insurgents) for the moment in the presence of a superior force, insincere professions of allegiance, temporising payments of tribute, or desertion of fields and strongholds easily regained; but there was clearly no material advance in public security or in the supremacy of the Central Government".

Mubārak Shāh, whom his father, Khizr Khān, had nominated as his heir on his death-bed, ascended the throne of Delhi on the very day of the latter's death, with the consent of the Delhi nobles. It was during his reign that Yahiyā bin Ahmad Sarhindi wrote his *Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, which is a valuable source-book for the history of this period. But his reign is as uneventful and dreary as that of his father. There is nothing of importance to record except some punitive expeditions to suppress disorders, which compelled the Sultān to accompany his armies. He was able to subdue the rebellions at Bhātinda and in the Doāb and recover balances of tribute from a limited area. But the brave Khokars grew more and more powerful and harassed him more than once. Their chief, Jasrat, confidently aspired to the establishment of their supremacy on the ruins of the Delhi kingdom. The Hindu nobles enhanced their influence in the Delhi court itself. On the 19th February, 1434, the Sultān fell victim to a conspiracy, organised by some Muslim as well as Hindu nobles under the leadership of the discontented *wazīr* Sarvar-ul-mulk, when he proceeded to superintend the construction of a newly planned town, called Mubārakābād, on the Jumnā.

The nobles of Delhi then raised Muhammad, a grandson of Khizr Khān and the heir-designate of the late murdered Sultān, to the throne of Delhi. But he also became "the victim of factions and the sport of circumstances". Even when he had the opportunity to display his capacity for rule after the death of the unscrupulous *wazīr* Sarvar-ul-mulk, he abused it in such a manner as to forfeit the confidence of those who had delivered him from the hands of his enemies. Buhlūl Khān Lodī, the governor of Lahore and Sirhind, who had come to help the Sultān when Mahmūd Shāh Khaljī of Mālwa had advanced as far as the capital, soon made an attempt to capture Delhi. Though it failed for the time being, the condition of the Sayyids gradually passed from bad to worse. As Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad writes, "the affairs of the State grew day by day more and more confused, and it so happened that there were nobles at twenty *krohs* from Delhi, who threw off their allegiance (to the tottering Empire) and engaged themselves in preparations for resistance to it". After the death of Muhammad Shāh in A.D. 1445,[1] the nobles declared his son to be the ruler of the shattered kingdom, which now consisted only of the city of Delhi and the neighbouring villages, under the title of 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ālam Shāh. The new ruler was more feeble and inefficient than his father. He made over the throne of Delhi to Buhlūl Lodī in

[1] There are differences of opinion regarding this date.

1451 and retired in an inglorious manner to his favourite place, Badāūn, where he spent the rest of his life, absorbed in pleasure, probably without any regret for his surrender of the throne, till his death.

B. The Lodīs

Buhlūl Khān belonged to the Lodī tribe of Afghāns. He was a nephew of Sultān Shāh Lodī, who had been appointed governor of Sirhind with the title of Islām Khān after the death of Mallū Iqbāl. On the death of his uncle, Buhlūl became the governor of Lahore and Sirhind. When 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ālam Shāh voluntarily abdicated the throne of Delhi, he seized it on the 19th April, 1451, with the support of the minister Hamīd Khān. Thus, for the first time in the history of India, an Afghān ruler was seated on the throne of Delhi.

Buhlūl was called upon to rule over a mere fragment of the Delhi kingdom, which again was then in a highly distracted condition. But he was made of a different stuff from that of his immediate predecessors. Born of a fighting clan, he was active, warlike, and ambitious, and was determined to restore the strength of the Sultānate. He got rid of the influence of the old minister Hamīd Khān by cleverly throwing him into prison with the help of his Afghān followers. He also frustrated an attempt on the part of Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur to get possession of Delhi, and reduced to submission some provincial fief-holders and chieftains, who had enjoyed independence for several years. Thus Ahmad Khān of Mewāt, Dariyā Khān of Sambhal, 'Isā Khān of Koīl, Mubārak Khān of Suket, Rājā Pratāp Singh of Mainpurī and Bhongāon, Qutb Khān of Rewarī, and the chiefs of Etāwah, Chandwār and other districts of the Doāb, were compelled to acknowledge the authority of the Sultān, who, however, treated them with leniency so that they might be reconciled to his rule. His more significant achievement was the successful war against the neighbouring kingdom of Jaunpur, the independence of which was extinguished. He appointed his eldest surviving son, Bārbak Shāh, viceroy of Jaunpur in 1486. While returning from Gwālior after chastising its Rājā, Kirat Singh, the Sultān fell ill; and in the midst of intrigues for succession to the throne among the partisans of his sons, Bārbak Shāh and Nizām Shāh, and grandson, A'zam-i-Humāyūn, he breathed his last by the middle of July 1489, near the town of Jalālī.

As a ruler, Buhlūl was incomparably superior to those who had preceded him on the throne of Delhi since the time of Fīrūz of the house of Tughluq. Possessed of courage, energy and tact, he

restored the prestige of the Muslim power in Hindustān and infused some vigour into the government of his kingdom. Averse to display of royal splendour, he was kind to the poor, and though not a learned man himself, was a patron of scholars. He enjoyed the love and confidence of his near relatives and fellow tribesmen, who were allowed to share with him his power and prosperity.

After Buhlūl's death, his second son, Nizām Khān, was proclaimed king at Jalālī, under the title of Sultān Sikandar Shāh, on the 17th July, 1489. His succession was disputed, as some of the nobles suggested the name of Bārbak Shāh; but their proposal came to nothing as Bārbak was then at a distant place. Endowed with considerable energy and vigour, Sikandar amply justified the choice of the minority among the nobles. He made earnest efforts to increase the strength of the kingdom by removing the disorders and confusion into which it had been thrown during the preceding reigns, due largely to the refractoriness of the provincial governors, chieftains, and zamindārs. He took care also to check the accounts of the leading Afghān *jāgīrdārs*, much against their will. Marching to Tirhut and Bihār, he asserted his authority as far as the confines of Bengal; appointed Dariyā Khān to the government of Bihār; compelled the Rājā of Tirhut to pay him tribute; and concluded a treaty with 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal, by which both agreed not to encroach on each other's dominion. The chiefs of Dholpur, Chanderī, and some other places, also tendered submission to him. With the object of controlling the chiefs of Etāwah, Biyāna, Koil, Gwālior and Dholpur in an effective manner, he founded a new town in 1504 on the site where the modern city of Āgra stands. Striving till his last days to enforce obedience from the hostile chiefs, the Sultān breathed his last at Āgra on the 21st November, A.D. 1517.

Sikandar was undoubtedly the ablest of the three rulers of his dynasty. He has been highly praised by contemporary as well as some later writers for his excellent qualities of head and heart. A firm, vigilant, and upright ruler, he entertained kind feelings in his heart for the poor and the needy, patronised learned men, and himself wrote some Persian verses. He dispensed justice with strict impartiality and personally heard the complaints of even the poorest of his subjects. The efficiency of his government chiefly contributed to the prevalence of peace and prosperity in his kingdom, and the prices of the articles of prime necessity became excessively low. He was, however, not free from religious intolerance, which led him to commit some impolitic acts.

After the death of Sikandar, his eldest son, Ibrāhīm, was elevated

to the throne at Āgra on the 21st November, 1517. A faction of the nobility advocated a partition of the kingdom and set up Ibrāhīm's younger brother, Jalāl Khān, on the throne of Jaunpur. But Ibrāhīm frustrated their attempt, whereupon Jalāl fled from Jaunpur but was captured on the way and assassinated by the Sultān's orders. The new Sultān possessed military skill, but lacked good sense and moderation, and this ultimately brought about his ruin. With a view to securing strength and efficiency, he unwisely embarked upon a policy of repression towards the powerful nobles of the Lohānī, Formulī and Lodī tribes, who constituted the official class of the State. By his stern measures he alienated the sympathies of the Afghān nobility and drove them to disloyalty, which manifested itself in absolute defiance of his authority. This embittered the Sultān more and more and increased the severity of his measures towards the nobles. But the latter lost their patience; and soon those of Bihār declared their independence under Dariyā Khān Lohānī. The discontent of the nobles was brought to a head by Ibrāhīm's unsympathetic treatment of Dilwār Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodī, the semi-independent governor of Lahore. Daulat Khān Lodī and 'Ālam Khān, an uncle of Sultān Ibrāhīm and a pretender to the throne of Delhi, invited Bābur, the Tīmūrid ruler of Kābul, to invade India. Thus revenge and ambition, persecutions and disaffection, brought about the final collapse of the decadent Delhi Sultānate and paved the way for the establishment of a new Turkish rule in India.

Indeed, the fall of the Delhi Sultānate was inevitable under the conditions which had their birth in the last days of Muhammad bin Tughluq. The indiscretions of that Sultān brought on a process of disintegration, which was accelerated by the weakness and impolitic measures of his immediate successor, Fīrūz Shāh, such as the revival of the *jāgīr* system, the extension of the institution of slavery, the imposition of *jizya* on the non-Muslims and persecution of the heretical Muslim sects. This process could not be checked by the weak Sayyids and unstatesmanlike Lodīs. In spite of some military successes to their credit, the Lodīs failed to introduce any wholesome and strong element in the administrative structure, and committed a fatal blunder by making an attempt to suppress the military and official nobility by a policy of repression. An external calamity, which might very well be regarded as a symptom of the growing decline of the Delhi Sultānate, hastened its end. While internal dissensions had been eating into its vitality, the invasion of Tīmūr destroyed its coherence and increased the selfish intrigues of the nobility, who, like the feudal baronage of later

medieval Europe, plunged the whole kingdom into disorder and confusion which it was beyond the capacity of the weak rulers of Delhi to remove by prudent measures. Further, the Tughluqs, and their successors, did nothing to introduce such reforms as could lead to the growth of a unified State in a country like India, where, during the Middle Ages, the sense of social solidarity or of territorial and political unity had hardly grown. Thus the military autarchy of the Turks and the Afghāns could enforce obedience among the governors and peoples of the different provinces only so long as it could retain its vigour. As soon as the central authority grew weak, the centrifugal tendencies, so common in the history of India, made headway, and a number of independent kingdoms arose on the ruins of the Delhi Sultānate. Their history may now be studied in brief.

2. Bengal

The control of the Delhi Sultāns over Bengal was always dubious, and it was one of the earliest provinces to assert its independence. Its distance from Delhi, and its profuse wealth, often tempted its governors to rebel against the central authority, which, as has already been noted, caused much trouble to Iltutmish and Balban. Under the descendants of Balban it was virtually independent of the Delhi Government, whose control was again asserted only in the time of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, who defeated Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh and divided the province into three independent administrative divisions with their capitals at Lakhnautī, Sātgāon, and Sonārgāon respectively. Soon after his accession, Muhammad bin Tughluq appointed Qadr Khān to the government of Lakhnautī, 'Izz-ud-dīn A'zam-ul-mulk to that of Sātgāon, and restored Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur Shāh to the government of Sonārgāon but associated with him his own foster-brother, Tārtār Khān, better known as Bahrām Khān. This partition of Bengal did not, however, serve to remove the chronic troubles in that province. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Bahādur soon revolted and issued coins from the mints at Sonārgāon and Ghiyāspur. But he was soon defeated and killed, and Bahrām Khān became the sole governor at Sonārgāon. Bahrām Khān died in A.D. 1336, whereupon his armour-bearer, Fakhr-ud-dīn, immediately proclaimed himself ruler of Sonārgāon under the title of Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh. Shortly 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ālī Shāh (A.D. 1339–1345) made himself independent in Northern Bengal, and removed his capital from Lakhnautī to Pāndua. It has been asserted on the evidence of some coins that Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh died a natural death after an unbroken reign

of ten years[1] and was succeeded on the throne of Sonārgāon by Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Ghāzī Shāh, who was most probably his son.

Ultimately Hājī Iliyās, foster-brother of 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ālī Shāh, made himself the independent ruler of the entire province of Bengal, about A.D. 1345, under the title of Shams-ud-dīn Iliyās Shāh. Soon after his accession he extended his power in different directions. It appears that after annexing the eastern kingdom of Sonārgāon in A.D. 1352 he exacted tribute from the kingdoms of Orissa and Tirhut and went as far as Benares. Thus his activities proved to be a menace to the Delhi kingdom on its eastern frontier, and it was during his reign that Fīrūz of the house of Tughluq made an attempt to recover the lost province of Bengal, which, however, ended in failure. Iliyās died at Pāndua in A.D. 1357. His reign was marked by peace and prosperity, which "are attested by the inauguration of a national and typical coinage, and by the growth of a taste for the arts of peace, especially architecture".

Iliyās was succeeded by his son, Sikandar Shāh, early in whose reign the Delhi Sultān made a second attempt to recover Bengal but had to return disappointed. After a prosperous reign of about thirty-six years, Sikandar died, most probably in October, 1393, in the course of a fight with his son, Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam, at Goālpārā near Pāndua. That his reign was prosperous is well attested by his building of the magnificent mosque at Ādīna and by the large number, variety, and richness of the designs of his coins. The next ruler, Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam, was a correspondent of the famous poet Hāfiz. He was an able prince, having a profound regard for law. He received an embassy from Yung-lo, rival of the Emperor Hui-ti of China, in A.D. 1408, and in A.D. 1409 sent one in return. Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh died in A.D. 1410 after a reign of about seventeen years and was succeeded by his son, Saif-ud-dīn Hamza Shāh. But about this time, Rājā Ganesh, a Brahmin zamindār of Bhātūriā and Dinājpur, rose to power and Hamza ruled as a nominal king for one year and a few months. According to the Muslim historians, Ganesh ruled Bengal as an independent king and abdicated in favour of his son Jadu, who subsequently embraced Islam and assumed the title of Jalāl-ud-dīn

[1] Bhattasali, *Independent Sultans of Bengal*, p. 17. The Muslim chroniclers give different accounts about Fakhr-ud-dīn's death. The author of *Riyāz* writes that he was killed by 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ālī Shāh; Badāūnī states that Muhammad bin Tughluq went to Sonārgāon, took Fakhr-ud-dīn to Delhi and killed him; and Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf notes that Fakhr-ud-dīn was killed by Hājī Iliyās.

Muhammad Shāh. A large number of his coins have been discovered, but not a single coin bearing the name of Rājā Ganesh has hitherto come to light. It has, therefore, been suggested by some that probably Ganesh never assumed full sovereignty but ruled as a virtual dictator in the name of some descendants of Iliyās Shāh, who were mere puppets in his hands. These nominal rulers were Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd Shāh, who succeeded to the throne some time between A.D. 1411 and A.D. 1413, and 'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, son and successor of Bāyazīd Shāh, some of whose coins have come down to us. Dr. Bhattasali has identified Rājā Ganesh with Danujamardana Deva, some of whose coins, struck in the widely distant mints of Pāndua, Suvarnagrāma and Chittāgong, and bearing Sanskrit legends in Bengali characters, have been discovered. Some again are of opinion that the two were different persons.

The rule of the dynasty of Ganesh did not last long. Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad died in A.D. 1431 and was succeeded by his son Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad, who reigned until A.D. 1442. The tyranny of this monarch made him extremely unpopular, and he fell a prey to a conspiracy organised against him by two officers of his government, Shādī Khān and Nāsir Khān. Nāsir Khān and Shādī Khān soon became jealous of each other, as both of them aspired to the throne of Bengal, and the former put his rival to death. But he was destined to exercise sovereignty only for a few days, as the nobles, who had been attached to Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad, soon opposed his authority and slew him. They then placed Nāsir-ud-dīn, a grandson of Hāji Iliyās, on the throne, who assumed the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn 'Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh, as appears on his coins. Thus was restored the rule of the Iliyās Shāhī dynasty.

As is proved by some coins, Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd reigned peacefully for about seventeen years. He is credited with the construction of some buildings at Gaur and a mosque at Sātgāon. On his death in A.D. 1460, his son, Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh, ascended the throne of Bengal. He was the first ruler in Hindustān to maintain a large number of Abyssinian slaves, some of whom were raised to high positions. According to Ghulām Husain Salīm, Bārbak "was a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign". He died in A.D. 1474, and was succeeded by his son, Shams-ud-dīn Yūsuf Shāh, who is described in his inscriptions as Shams-ud-dīn Abul Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh. He was a virtuous, learned and pious ruler and reigned till 1481. It has been asserted by some that the Muslims conquered Sylhet during his reign. After his death, the nobles raised his son, Sikandar II, to the throne. But the new ruler, being

found to be of defective intellect, was deposed almost immediately in favour of Jalāl-ud-dīn Fath Shāh, a son of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. Fath Shāh was prudent enough to realise the danger that lay in the growing influence of the Abyssinians, but his attempt to check it cost him his life. The discontented Abyssinians formed a conspiracy against him under the leadership of a eunuch, who had him murdered in A.D. 1486 and usurped the throne of Bengal under the title of Bārbak Shāh, Sultān Shāhzāda. But Bārbak was murdered in the course of a few months by Indīl Khān, who, though an Abyssinian, was loyal to Fath Shāh and was a military commander of proved ability. Pressed by the widow of Fath Shāh, and the courtiers of Gaur, Indīl Khān, after displaying some decent reluctance, ascended the throne of Bengal under the title of Saif-ud-dīn Fīrūz. If the author of the *Riyāz* is to be relied on, the confidence reposed in him as an able administrator and commander was justified by his measures, but he was indiscriminately charitable. He died in A.D. 1489, when the nobles placed on the throne a surviving son of Fath Shāh, under the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh II. But this ruler was done away with in A.D. 1490 by an ambitious Abyssinian, known as Sīdī Badr, who seized the throne under the title of Shams-ud-dīn Abu Nasar Muzaffar Shāh. This Abyssinian's reign of three years and a few months was marked by tyranny and disorder, which caused widespread discontent among the soldiers and the officers, including his wise minister, 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain, who was an Arab by descent. They besieged him in Gaur for four months, in the course of which he died. The nobles of Bengal then raised 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh to the throne (1493), in recognition of his merit and ability.

The accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh marks the commencement of the rule of a new dynasty, which endured about half a century and the members of which have various useful measures to their credit. We have numerous inscriptions of Husain Shāh, and his coins, as well as those of his son Nusrat Shāh, are varied and abundant. An enlightened and wise man, Husain Shāh was one of the most popular rulers that ascended the throne of Bengal. With a view to restoring order in the internal administration of his kingdom, he suppressed the power of the palace guards, who had, during the preceding reigns, established a position similar to that of the Praetorian Guards in Rome. He also expelled the Abyssinians from his kingdom, as their increased influence had become a serious menace to the throne. In A.D. 1494 he hospitably received Husain Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur, who, being driven from his kingdom by Sikandar Lodī of Delhi, had fled towards Bengal. The fugitive

monarch was allowed to live at Colgong (in Bihār near Bhāgalpur)[1] till he died there in A.D. 1500. Having established order near his capital, Husain Shāh tried to recover the lost territorial possessions of Bengal. He extended the limits of his kingdom as far as the borders of Orissa to the south, recovered Magadha from the control of the Sharqīs of Jaunpur, invaded the Āhom kingdom of Assam, and captured Kāmatāpur in Koch Bihār in 1498. Assam was soon recovered by its old king. Husain Shāh then applied himself to ensuring the security of the frontiers of his kingdom, and built mosques and alms-houses in different parts of it, making suitable endowments for their maintenance. He died in 1518 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Nasīb Khān, who assumed the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Nusrat Shāh. Unlike many other Muslim rulers in India, Nusrat Shāh proved generous towards his brothers and doubled their inheritance. He invaded Tirhut, slew its king and placed there 'Alā-ud-dīn and Makhdūm-i-'Ālam, his own brothers-in-law, to look after its administration. He was a patron of art, architecture and literature. He caused two famous mosques, the *Barā Sonā Masjid* (Large Golden Mosque) and *Qadam Rasūl* (Foot of the Prophet), to be constructed at Gaur; and a Bengali version of the *Mahābhārata* was made under his orders. He was eventually assassinated by his palace eunuchs in 1533 and was succeeded by his son, 'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, who, after a reign of not more than three months, was killed by his uncle, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh was the last king of the Husain Shāhī dynasty, whom Sher Khān Sūr expelled from Bengal.

3. Independent Sultānates in the Provinces of Northern and Western India

A. Jaunpur

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Fīrūz of the house of Tughluq to perpetuate the memory of his cousin and patron, Muhammad Jauna. We have noticed before how, during the period of confusion following the invasion of Tīmūr, Khwāja Jahān threw off his allegiance to the Delhi Sultānate and founded a dynasty of independent rulers at Jaunpur, known as the Sharqī dynasty after his title, "*Malik-ush-Sharq*". He died in 1399, leaving his throne to his adopted son, Malik Qaranful, who assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh Sharqī. Mubārak Shāh died, after a short reign, in 1402, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī. Ibrāhīm

[1] There are several Muslim tombs at Colgong, one of which is regarded as the tomb of Husain Shāh Sharqī.

ruled for about thirty-four years and was the ablest ruler of the Sharqī dynasty. Being himself a man of culture, he patronised art and literature, as a result of which Jaunpur became an important centre of Muslim learning. This city was also adorned by the construction of beautiful buildings, marked by Hindu influence, and having mosques without minarets of the usual type. The famous *Atāla Masjid* which stands now as a brilliant specimen of the Jaunpur style of architecture, was completed in A.D. 1408. Ibrāhīm died in 1436 and was succeeded by his son, Mahmūd Shāh. The new king annexed the greater part of the district of Chunār, but his expedition against Kālpī proved unsuccessful. On making an attempt to occupy Delhi, he was defeated by Buhlūl Lodī, who compelled him to return to Jaunpur. Mahmūd died in A.D. 1457, when his son, Bhīkhan, ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad Shāh. But the unscrupulous conduct of this king highly incensed the nobles and his own relatives, who had him murdered and raised his brother, Husain Shāh, to the throne. Soon after his accession, Husain Shāh concluded in 1458 a four years' truce with Buhlūl Lodī of Delhi. He utilised this period in suppressing the independent zamindārs of Tirhut, and in conducting a plundering expedition into Orissa, the Rājā of which purchased peace by paying a vast treasure. He also led an army in 1466 to capture the fortress of Gwālior, but could not reduce it and retired when its Rājā, Mān Singh, paid him a heavy indemnity. After these initial successes, fortune turned against Husain Shāh in his renewed war with Buhlūl Lodī, who expelled him to Bihār and annexed the kingdom of Jaunpur to Delhi. Buhlūl appointed his son, Bārbak, governor of Jaunpur, permitting him to use the royal title and coin money. Thus the independence of Jaunpur came to an end. The period of Sharqī rule at Jaunpur, extending for about eighty-five years, was marked by prosperity, development of architecture, and an outburst of a high type of culture, which earned for the city, during Ibrāhīm's reign, the title of "the Shīrāz of India".

B. Mālwa

Annexed by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in A.D. 1305, Mālwa continued to be governed by Muslim chiefs, under the authority of Delhi, till it became independent, like other provinces, during the period of disorder after the invasion of Tīmūr. Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī, who had been appointed governor of Mālwa probably by Fīrūz of the house of Tughluq, made himself independent of the Delhi Sulṭānate for all practical purposes in 1401, though he did not formally renounce

his allegiance to it or assume the "style of royalty". In 1406 he was succeeded by his ambitious son, Alp Khān, who ascended the throne under the title of Hūshang Shāh. The new ruler was a man of restless spirit, and took a delight in adventurous enterprises and wars, in which he remained constantly engaged throughout his reign. In 1422 he left his capital for Orissa in the guise of a merchant and made a surprise attack on the unsuspecting Rājā of that kingdom, who had to bribe him to withdraw by giving him seventy-five elephants. On his way back to Mālwa, Hūshang captured Kherla and carried off its Rājā as a prisoner. He had to fight against the Sultāns of Delhi, Jaunpur, and Gujarāt, and had once to measure his strength with Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, who had been offended by his capture of Kherla, the Rājā of which place had been formerly a vassal of the Bahmanī kingdom. But most of his campaigns resulted in defeats and disasters for him. He died on the 6th July, 1435, when his eldest son, Ghaznī Khān, was proclaimed king of Mālwa, under the title of Muhammad Shāh. But the new ruler was absolutely unmindful of the affairs of the State. His minister, Mahmūd Khān, usurped the throne in May, 1436. Thus was founded the dynasty of the Khaljī Sultāns of Mālwa. Mahmūd frustrated the opposition of a faction of the nobles, and of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt, who had espoused the cause of Mas'ūd Khān, a son of Muhammad Shāh of Mālwa.

Mahmūd Khaljī was a brave warrior, who fought against Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt, Muhammad Shāh of Delhi, Muhammad Shāh III Bhamanī and Rānā Kumbha of Mewār. He failed in his contests with the Muslim Sultāns. His war with the Rānā of Mewār seems to have been indecisive. Strangely enough, both sides claimed victory, and while the Rānā of Mewār built the "Tower of Victory" at Chitor, the Sultān of Mālwa erected a seven-storeyed column at Māndū to commemorate his triumph. Mahmūd Khaljī was undoubtedly the ablest of the Muslim rulers of Mālwa. He extended the limits of this kingdom up to the Sātpurā Range in the south, the frontier of Gujarāt in the west, Bundelkhand in the east, and Mewār and Harautī in the north. His fame spread outside India. The Khalifah of Egypt recognised his position and he received a mission from Sultān Abu-Sa'īd. He was a just and active administrator. Ferishta thus praises his qualities: "Sultān Mahmūd was polite, brave, just and learned, and during his reign, his subjects, Muhammadans as well as Hindus, were happy and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home, and his resting-place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted

to hearing the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth read." He died at Māndū, at the age of sixty-eight, on the 1st June, 1469, after a reign of about thirty-four years.

Mahmūd's eldest son, Ghiyās-ud-dīn, ascended the throne of Mālwa two days after his father's death. He was a lover of peace and a devout Muslim, "particular in his daily prayers", and abstained from all intoxicants and prohibited articles of food. But his last days were rendered unhappy by quarrels between his two sons, 'Abdul Qādir Nāsir-ud-dīn and Shujā'at Khān 'Alā-ud-dīn. The former at last seized the throne in A.D. 1500. Nāsir-ud-dīn greatly abused his power till he died in A.D. 1510. His second son then ascended the throne under the title of Mahmūd II. To get rid of the influence of the Muslim nobles, Mahmūd II appointed Medinī Rāi, the powerful Rājput chief of Chanderī, to the office of minister. Medinī Rāi soon acquired supreme influence in the State and appointed Hindus to offices of trust and responsibility. This excited the jealousy of the nobles of Mālwa, who removed the Rājput minister with the help of Sultan Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt. But Medinī Rāi was able to inflict a defeat on Māhmūd II himself with the help of Rānā Sanga of Chitor. The Sultān of Mālwa was captured by the victorious Rājputs. Rānā Sanga, however, treated him with chivalrous generosity, characteristic of the Rājput race, and restored his vanquished foe to his kingdom. But the authority of the kingdom of Mālwa had been by this time greatly reduced, and the days of its independence were numbered. The Sultān, Mahmūd II, incurred the hostility of Rānā Ratan Singh, successor of Rānā Sanga, by raiding his territories; and the Rānā, as an act of reprisal, invaded Mālwa. He also excited the wrath of Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt by giving shelter to Chānd Khān, the latter's younger brother and a rival for his throne. Bahādur Shāh thereupon captured Māndū on the 17th March, 1531, and the independence of Mālwa was thus extinguished. It continued to remain under Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, till it was later on occupied for a short period by the Mughul ruler, Humāyūn. About 1535 Mallū Khān, formerly an officer of the Khaljī Sultāns of Mālwa, established independent sovereignty in Mālwa under the title of Qādir Shāh, but he was deposed by Sher Shāh, the Afghan ruler of Delhi, in 1542. After being governed by viceroys of the Afghān government, Mālwa was conquered by Mughul generals from Bāz Bahādur in A.D. 1561–1562.

C. Gujarāt

The immense wealth of the province of Gujarāt, due particularly to active commerce through the rich ports of Cambay, Surāt and Broach, often drew upon her external invasions. Annexed to the Delhi Sultānate by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in A.D. 1297, it was ruled for a long time by Muslim governors appointed by the Delhi Sultāns. But in 1401 Zafar Khān (son of a Rājput convert), who had been appointed governor of the province in 1391 by Muhammad Shāh, the youngest son of Fīrūz of the house of Tughluq, formally assumed independence. In 1403 Zafar Khān's son, Tātār Khān, acting in conspiracy with some discontented nobles, rose against his father, imprisoned him at Asāwal and proclaimed himself king under the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh. He even marched towards Delhi with a view to establishing his authority there, but was put to death by his uncle and regent, Shams Khān. This enabled Zafar Khān to recover his throne and to assume the title of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh. Muzaffar Shāh waged a successful war against Hūshang Shāh, Sultān of Mālwa, and captured Dhār. After his death in June, 1411, Ahmad Shāh, his grandson and heir-designate, ascended the throne. Ahmad has been justly regarded as the real founder of the independence of Gujarāt. Endowed with considerable courage and energy, he engaged himself throughout his reign of about thirty years in extending the limits of his kingdom, which had been confined, during the reigns of his two predecessors, to a small territory near Asāwal. Success always attended his campaigns against the Sultān of Mālwa, and the chiefs of Asīrgarh, Rājputāna and other neighbouring territories. He also devoted his attention to improving the civil administration of his kingdom and dispensed justice impartially. In the first year of his reign, he built the beautiful city of Ahmadābād, on the site of the old town of Asāwal, and removed his capital to that place, which to this day bears witness to his taste and munificence. His only defect was his religious intolerance. He died on the 16th August, 1442, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Muhammad Shāh, who reigned till his death on the 10th February, A.D. 1451. Two weak rulers, Muhammad Shāh's son, Qutb-ud-dīn Ahmad, and Muhammad's brother Dāūd, followed him. Through his evil ways, Dāūd alienated the sympathy of the nobles within a few days of his accession. They deposed him, and raised his nephew, Abul Fath Khān, a grandson of Ahmad Shāh, to the throne, under the title of Mahmūd, commonly known as Begarha.

Mahmūd Begarha was by far the most eminent Sultān of his dynasty. The leading Muslim historian of his country observes that "he added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarāt, and was the best of all the Gujarāt kings, including all who preceded, and all who succeeded him; and whether for abounding justice and generosity . . . for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Mussalmāns; for soundness in judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age; for power, for valour, and victory, he was a pattern of excellence". Ascending the throne at a comparatively young age, he at once took the management of the affairs of his kingdom into his own hands, and overpowered his hostile courtiers, who had formed a conspiracy to raise his brother, Hasan Khān, to the throne. He ruled vigorously, without the influence of any minister or of the harem, for about fifty-three years; and being a brave warrior, he gained success in all his campaigns. He saved Nizām Shāh Bahmanī from aggression on the part of Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa, defeated the Sūmra and Sodha chiefs of Cutch, suppressed the pirates of Jagat (Dvārakā), and reduced the strong forts of Junāgarh and Chāmpāner, the latter being named by him Muhammadābād. As a result of his conquests, the kingdom of Gujarāt reached its extreme limits, extending "from the frontiers of Māndū to the frontiers of Sind, by Junāgarh; to the Siwālik Parbat by Jālor and Nāgaur; to Nāsik Trimbak by Baglāna; from Burhānpur to Berar and Malkāpur of the Deccan; to Karkūn and the river Narbada on the side of Burhānpur; on the side of Īdar as far as Chitor and Kūmbhalgarh, and on the side of the sea as far as the bounds of Chaul". Towards the close of his reign, he tried, in alliance with Qansauh-al-Ghaurī, Sultān of Egypt, to check the rising power of the Portuguese in the Indian Seas, who had within a decade, since the discovery of the Cape Route by Vasco da Gama in 1498, almost monopolised the lucrative spice trade from the Red Sea and Egypt at the expense of the interests of Muslim traders and the important sea-ports of Western India, like Cambay and Chaul. The Egyptian fleet, under the command of Amīr Husain the Kurd, governor of Jedda, and the Indian contingent, under the command of Malik Ayāz, a Turk who had found employment in the court of Gujarāt, defeated a Portuguese squadron commanded by Dom Lourenço, son of the Portuguese viceroy, Francesco de Almeida, near Chaul, south of Bombay, in 1508. But the Portuguese inflicted a crushing defeat on the allied Muslim fleet, near Diu, in 1509, and recovered their naval ascendancy on the sea-coast. Mahmūd granted them a site for a factory at Diu.

After the death of Mahmūd Begarha on the 23rd November,

1511, the throne passed to his son Muzaffar II, who waged successful wars against the Rājputs and restored Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa to his throne. Muzaffar's death on the 7th April, 1526, was followed by two short and insignificant reigns of his sons, Sikandar and Nāsir Khān Mahmūd II, till in the month of July of the same year his more daring son, Bahādur, got possession of the throne.

Brave and warlike like his grandfather, Bahādur was a famous ruler in the history of medieval India. He not only defeated Mahmūd II of Mālwa and annexed his kingdom in 1531 but also overran the territories of the Rānā of Mewār, the old enemy of his house, and stormed Chitor in A.D. 1534. Fortune, however, went against him in his wars with Humāyūn, in the course of which he was deprived not only of the newly-conquered province of Mālwa but also of the greater part of his own kingdom. But on the withdrawal of the Delhi troops, Bahādur regained his kingdom and turned his attention towards expelling the Portuguese, whose assistance he had sought in vain against the Mughuls. Failing to persuade the Portuguese governor, Nunho da Cunha, to come to him, he himself proceeded to visit him on board his ship in February, 1537, but was treacherously drowned by the Portuguese, and all his companions were murdered. After the death of Bahādur, anarchy and confusion reigned supreme in Gujarāt under his weak successors, who were mere puppets in the hands of rival baronial parties; so it was easily annexed to the Mughul Empire by Akbar in A.D. 1572.

D. Kāshmīr

In the year A.D. 1315 Shāh Mirzā, a Muslim adventurer from Swāt, entered the service of the Hindu Prince of Kāshmīr, who died shortly afterwards. Shāh Mirzā seized the throne of Kāshmīr in A.D. 1339 or 1346 under the title of Shams-ud-dīn Shāh and caused coins to be struck and the *Khutba* to be read in his name. He used his newly-acquired power wisely, and died in A.D. 1349.[1] His sons, Jamshīd, 'Alā-ud-dīn, Shihāb-ud-dīn, and Qutb-ud-dīn, then reigned successively for about forty-six years. After Qutb-ud-dīn's death in A.D. 1394, his son Sikandar ascended the throne of Kāshmīr.

Reigning at the time of Tīmūr's invasion of India, Sikandar exchanged envoys with him, though the two never met each other. He was generous towards the men of his own faith, and many

[1] The chronology of the Muhammadan Sultāns of Kāshmīr is rather bewildering, and the dates of their reigns have to be regarded as being approximate.

learned Muslim scholars flocked to his court from Persia, Arabia and Mesopotamia, but his general attitude was not liberal. He died, after a reign of twenty-two years and nine months, in A.D. 1416. His eldest son, 'Ālī Shāh, then reigned for a few years, after which he was overpowered by his brother, Shāhī Khān, who ascended the throne in June, A.D. 1420, under the title of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn was a benevolent, liberal and enlightened ruler. He did much to diminish theft and highway robbery in his kingdom by enforcing the principle of the responsibility of the village communities for local crimes, regulated the prices of commodities, lightened the burden of taxation on the people, and rehabilitated the currency, which had been greatly debased during the reigns of his predecessors. His public works immensely benefited his subjects. He was a man of liberal ideas, and showed remarkable toleration towards the followers of other faiths. He recalled the Brāhmaṇas, who had left the kingdom during his father's reign, admitted learned Hindus to his society, abolished the *jizya* and granted perfect religious freedom to all. He possessed a good knowledge of Persian, Hindi, and Tibetan, besides his own language, and patronised literature, painting and music. Under his initiative, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rājataranginī* were translated from Sanskrit into Persian, and several Arabic and Persian books were translated into the Hindi language. Thus, for all these qualities, he has been justly described as "the Akbar of Kāshmīr", though he differed from him in a few traits of personal character. He died in November or December, 1470, and was succeeded by his son Haidar Shāh.

The history of the later Sultāns of Kāshmīr is uninteresting and unimportant. After Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's death, anarchy "ensued under the rule of nominal kings who were placed on the throne as a mark for the machinations of the different parties who were seeking pre-eminence for purposes of self-aggrandisement and plunder". Towards the end of A.D. 1540, Mirzā Haidar, a relative of Humāyūn, conquered Kāshmīr. He governed it, theoretically, on behalf of Humāyūn, but in practice as an independent ruler, till 1551, when he was overthrown by the Kāshmīr nobles, who resumed their intrigues and quarrels. About A.D. 1555 the Chakks seized the throne of Kāshmīr, but with no relief to the troubled kingdom, which was absorbed into the Mughul Empire in the time of Akbar.

4. Independent Sultānates in Southern India, including Khāndesh

A. Khāndesh

Khāndesh was a province of Muhammad bin Tughluq's empire in the valley of the Tāptī river. Fīrūz Shāh entrusted its government to one of his personal attendants, Malik Rājā Fārūqī, whose ancestors had been respected nobles of the Delhi court in the reigns of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and Muhammad bin Tughluq. In the period of confusion following the death of Fīrūz Shāh, Malik Rājā, following the example of his neighbour, Dilāwar Khān of Mālwa, declared his independence of the Delhi Sultānate. He was defeated by Muzaffar Shāh I of Gujarāt in several battles. Being a man of peaceful disposition, he treated his subjects, Muhammadans as well as Hindus, with kindness and consideration. He died on the 29th April, 1399, and his son, Malik Nasīr, soon made himself absolute master of Khāndesh by overpowering his brother Hasan. The new Sultān captured the fortress of Asīrgarh from its Hindu chieftain, but Ahmad Shāh, the Sultān of Gujarāt, defeated him when he attacked Nandurbār and compelled him to swear fealty to him. His war against his son-in-law, 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad of the Bahmanī dynasty, also ended in disaster for him and he died in the year 1437–1438. Then after the two uneventful reigns of his son, 'Ādil Khān I (1438–41), and grandson, Mubārak Khān I (1441–1457), the throne of Khāndesh was occupied by Mubārak Khān's son, 'Ādil Khān II, who was an able and vigorous ruler and tried hard to restore administrative order in his kingdom, the authority of which was extended by him over Gondwāna. On his death without any issue in 1501, the throne passed to his brother Dāūd, who, after an inglorious reign of about seven years, died in 1508, and was succeeded by his son, Ghaznī Khān. Ghaznī Khān was poisoned within ten days of his accession, and Khāndesh was plunged into disorder due to the faction fights of two rival claimants to its throne, one being supported by Ahmad Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, and the other by Mahmūd Begarha of Gujarāt, till the latter succeeded in raising his candidate to the throne with the title of 'Ādil Khān III. The reign of 'Ādil Khān III was not marked by any event of importance. He died on the 25th August, 1520, and his weak successors had not the courage or ability to save the kingdom from the aggressions of its external enemies. Like Gujarāt, Khāndesh was annexed by Akbar to his empire in 1601.

B. The Bahmanī Kingdom

Of all the independent Muslim kingdoms that arose on the ruins of the Delhi Sultānate, the Bahmanī kingdom of the Deccan proved to be the most powerful. It came into existence during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq as a challenge to his authority. The nobles of the Deccan, driven to rebellion by the eccentric policy of the Delhi Sultān, seized the fort of Daulatābād and proclaimed one of themselves, Ismā'īl Mukh the Afghān, as king of the Deccan under the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Shāh. Ismā'īl Mukh, being an old and ease-loving man, proved unfit for the office. Soon he voluntarily made room for a more worthy leader, Hasan, entitled Zafar Khān, who was declared king by the nobles on the 3rd August, 1347, under the title of Abul-Muzaffar 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahman Shāh. The story related by Ferishta about Hasan's origin, to the effect that he was originally a menial in the service of a Brāhmaṇa astrologer of Delhi, Gangū, who enjoyed the favour of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and later on rose to prominence owing to the patronage of his Hindu master, finds no corroboration in the accounts of the later Muslim chroniclers and is also not supported by the evidence of coins and inscriptions. Hasan, in fact, claimed descent from the famous Persian hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, and the dynasty that he founded thus came to be known as the Bahmanī dynasty.

Soon after his accession, 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan selected Gulbarga as his capital and renamed it as Ahsanābād. But the Hindu rulers of the south, who had not failed to profit by the political disorders in the Deccan at the time of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan's rise, were not disposed to submit to his authority. He therefore launched on a career of conquest, which was marked by success. When he died on the 11th February, 1358, he left a dominion extending from the Waingangā river in the north to the Kṛishṇā river in the south and from Daulatābād in the west to Bhongīr, now in the Nizām's dominions, in the east. For the administration of his kingdom, he divided it into four *tarafs* or provinces, Gulbarga, Daulatābād, Berar and Bīdar. Each province was placed in charge of a governor, who maintained an army, and made appointments in all civil and military posts under him. The efficiency of administration in the provinces checked the outbreak of rebellions. The author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* has thus praised this Sultān: "Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn I Hasan Shāh was a just king and the cherisher of his people and pious. During his reign his subjects and the army used to pass their time in perfect ease and content; and he did much towards propagating the true faith."

The next Sultān was Muhammad Shāh I, the eldest son of Hasan, who had nominated him as his heir on his death-bed. Soon after his accession, Muhammad Shāh organised the different branches of his government, like the ministry, the household troops and the provincial administration. But throughout his reign, he was chiefly engaged in waging wars against the rulers of Warangal and Vijayanagar. Those rulers offered a stubborn resistance, but both were overpowered by the troops of Gulbarga, and had to conclude peace, after immense losses, on humiliating terms.

Muhammad Shāh's mode of life was not unimpeachable. The author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* distinctly states that the Sultān "showed signs of an irreligious manner of living, which threw him on the bed of helplessness".

After the death of Muhammad Shāh I in A.D. 1377, his son, Mujāhid Shāh, ascended the throne and marched in person against Vijayanagar. But he could not capture that city and soon had to return to his capital after making peace with its Rāya. He fell a victim to a conspiracy organised by one of his near relatives named Dāūd Khān,[1] who usurped the throne. The usurper was paid back in his own coin by being murdered in May, 1378, by an assassin at the instigation of Mujāhid's foster-sister, Rūh Parwar Āghā. The nobles and military officers then raised to the throne Muhammad Shāh, son of Mahmūd Khān, the fourth son of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Bahmanī.

Unlike his predecessors, Muhammad Shāh II was a lover of peace and devoted to learning; and his reign was not disturbed by foreign wars. He built mosques, established free schools for orphans, and invited learned men from all parts of Asia to his court. But his last days were embittered by the intrigues of his sons, who were eager to get the throne. After his death in April, A.D. 1397, followed the inglorious and troubled reigns of his two sons, Ghiyās-ud-dīn and Shams-ud-dīn Dāūd, lasting for only a few months, till the throne of Gulbarga was seized in November, 1397, by Fīrūz, a grandson of 'Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Bahmanī, who assumed the title of Tāj-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh.

We are told by the author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* that Fīrūz Shāh "was an impetuous and a mighty monarch, and expended all his ability and energy in eradicating and destroying tyranny and heresy, and he took much pleasure in the society of the *Shekhs*, learned men and hermits". But after a few years' rule, he became

[1] Dāūd was uncle of Mujāhid according to Ferishta but his cousin according to the author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*.

addicted to the common vices of his time, which even Ferishta has noted. He was conversant with various languages and could talk freely with his wives of diverse nationalities in their own tongues. He followed the traditional policy of his dynasty in waging wars against the Rāyas of Vijayanagar and some other Hindu rulers of the Deccan. He gained success in his two expeditions against Vijayanagar in 1398 and 1406, exacted heavy indemnity from its Rāya and even compelled him to surrender a princess of Vijayanagar for his harem. But his third attack in 1420 resulted in his defeat at Pāngul, to the north of the Kṛishṇā, and his retreat from the field after his commander-in-chief, Mīr Fazl-ullāh Injū, had been killed. The Vijayanagar troops soon occupied the southern and eastern districts of the Bahmanī kingdom. This defeat told heavily on the Sultān's mind and body, and he left the administration in the hands of his slaves, Hūshyār 'Ain-ul-mulk and Nizām Bīdār-ul-mulk. He was ultimately forced to abdicate the throne in favour of his brother Ahmad, who, according to the author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, did away with Fīrūz Shāh in September, 1422, though some writers believe, on the authority of Ferishta, that Fīrūz Shāh died a natural death.

To avenge the losses sustained by the Bahmanī troops in his brother's reign, Ahmad Shāh carried on a terrible war against Vijayanagar. The siege of Vijayanagar by the Bahmanī troops reduced it to great distress and compelled its Rāya to conclude peace by paying a heavy indemnity. This was conveyed to Ahmad's camp, on elephants, by the Rāya's son, who was received there honourably; and the invaders then returned to their country. In 1424 or 1425 Ahmad Shāh's general, Khān-i-'Azam, attacked the Hindu kingdom of Warangal and succeeded in capturing its fortress, with immense treasures, and in killing its ruler. The independence of Warangal was thus extinguished. Ahmad Shāh also waged war against Mālwa. The Sultān of Mālwa, Hūshang Shāh, was defeated with great losses in men and money. Ahmad's war with the Sultān of Gujarāt, Ahmad Shāh I, ended in failure, and peace was at last concluded through the intervention of theologians and learned men of both sides. The Hindu chiefs of the Konkan also felt the weight of Bahmanī arms during his reign, but this pressure was removed after his death from illness in February, 1435.

Ahmad Shāh transferred the capital of his kingdom from Gulbarga to Bīdar, which was beautifully situated and had a salubrious climate. Though not endowed with much learning, he bestowed favours on some Muslim scholars. The poet, Shaikh Āzarī of Isfarāyīn in Khurāsān, who came to his court, received a huge amount of

money for composing two verses in praise of his palace at Bīdar; and Maulāna Sharf-ud-dīn Māzandarānī was also rewarded with 12,000 *tankās* for inscribing in beautiful handwriting two verses on the door of that palace.

In the meanwhile, baronial intrigues for position and influence, often resulting in pitched battles and massacres, had begun to affect the homogeneity of the Bahmanī kingdom. There were perpetual feuds between the Deccani nobles with their allies, the Africans and the *Muwallads* (issue of African fathers and Indian mothers) on the one side, and, on the other, the foreign nobles, composed of the Turks, the Arabs, the Persians and the Mughuls. Many of the latter had been elevated to high offices in the State, for their hardy and active habits, in preference to the children of the soil, who grew jealous of them. This jealousy was accentuated by religious differences, for while most of the Deccanis were Sunnīs, the majority of the rival party consisted of Shiahs. Thus the history of the later Bahmanīds is a dreary tale of conspiracies and strife, which sucked the life-blood of the kingdom till it finally disintegrated.

Ahmad was succeeded peacefully by his eldest son under the title of 'Alā-ud-dīn II. Soon after his accession, 'Alā-ud-dīn II suppressed a rebellion headed by his brother Muhammad, who was, however, pardoned and given the government of the Rāichūr Doāb, where he remained faithful during the rest of his life. The Hindu chiefs of the Konkan were next reduced to submission, and the Rājā of Sangameshwar gave his beautiful daughter in marriage to the Bahmanī Sultān. This was not liked by the Sultān's Muslim wife Malikā-i-Jahān. At her request her father, Nasīr Khān, the ruler of Khāndesh, invaded Berar, but was defeated by Malik-ul-Tujjār Khalaf Hasan, governor of Daulatābād and leader of the foreign nobles. In 1443 'Alā-ud-dīn waged war against Vijayanagar, the Rāya of which had to conclude peace by promising regular payment of tribute in future. Ferishta writes that at this time the Rāya of Vijayanagar employed Muslim soldiers in his army, admitted some Muslims into his service, and even erected a mosque at the capital city for their worship. Like other Sultāns of the dynasty, 'Alā-ud-dīn was a zealous champion of Islam and was benevolent towards the followers of his own faith. We know from Ferishta and the author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir* that he "founded *masjids*, public schools and charitable institutions, among which was a hospital of perfect elegance and purity of style, which he built in his capital, Bīdar, and made two beautiful villages there as a pious endowment, in order that the revenue

of these villages should be solely devoted to supplying medicines and drinks . . . so much did he attend to carrying out the orders and prohibitions of the divine *law* that even the name of wine and all intoxicating liquors was abrogated in his jurisdiction. . . ."

'Alā-ud-dīn died peacefully in April, 1457, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Humāyūn, who was so cruel as to get the epithet of "*Zālim*" or "the Tyrant". Examples of his cruelties have been cited by the author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*. Humāyūn died a natural death, according to some writers, in October, 1461, but the more reliable authorities write that he was murdered by some of his servants when he was in a state of intoxication. His death freed his people "from the *talons* of his tortures" and the general sense of relief was thus expressed by the contemporary poet Nazir:

> "Humāyūn Shāh has passed away from the world,
> God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humāyūn!
> On the date of his death the world was full of delight,
> So, 'delight of the world' gave the date of his death."

According to the chroniclers Humāyūn's minor son, Nizām Shāh, was next raised to the throne. The queen-mother, Makhdūmah Jahān, tried to manage the administration of the State with the assistance of Khwāja Jahān and Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān. But the rulers of Orissa and Telingāna were emboldened, during the rule of the boy king, to attack his kingdom. They were driven back with heavy losses. But soon a more formidable danger appeared for the Bahmanīs when Mahmūd Khaljī I of Mālwa led an invasion into their territories and besieged Bīdar, which was saved only when Mahmūd Begarha, the Sultān of Gujarāt, sent a favourable response to the Bahmanī Sultān's appeal for help. Nizām Shāh died very suddenly, on the 30th July, 1463, and his brother, aged only nine, ascended the throne under the title of Muhammad III.

Soon after Muhammad's accession, the old minister Khwāja Jahān, who aimed at a monopoly of power in the State, was put to death through the influence of the queen-mother, and the vacant office was entrusted to Mahmūd Gāwān, who received the title of Khwāja Jahān. Though possessed of wide powers, Mahmūd Gāwān never abused his authority. By virtue of his conspicuous ability, he served the Bahmanī State with unstinted loyalty; and, by skilful diplomacy and successful military operations, he brought the dominions of the Bahmanīs "to an extent never achieved by former sovereigns".

In 1469 Mahmūd Gāwān marched with an army to subdue the

Hindu Rājās of the Konkan, and when he succeeded in capturing several forts, the Rājā of Sangameshwar, overpowered with fear, surrendered the fortress of Khelna to his agents. "This unrivalled minister," writes the author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, "seized many forts and towns and captured immense booty, and valuable goods, such as horses, elephants, maidens, and female slaves, as well as precious jewels and pearls, fell into the minister's hands". He also captured Goa, one of the best ports of the Vijayanagar Empire. In the meanwhile, Nizām-ul-mulk Barhi, a commander of the Bahmanī kingdom, had seized the forts of Rajamundry and Kondavīr. In the year 1474 the Deccan was devastated by a terrible famine due to the failure of rain for two successive years, and many succumbed to its rigours. When rain at last fell in the third year, scarcely any farmers remained in the country to cultivate the land.

But the military enterprises of the Sultān continued unabated. In February, 1478, Muhammad invaded and devastated Orissa, the Rājā of which induced him to withdraw by presenting to him some elephants and other valuable gifts.

The most successful military exploit of his reign was directed, in the course of a war with Vijayanagar, against Kāñchī or Conjeeveram (12th March, 1481), a seat of some old temples, which "were the wonder of the age, filled with countless concealed treasures and jewels, and valuable pearls, besides innumerable slave-girls". The besieged soldiers offered a brave resistance but were ultimately vanquished by the Bahmanī troops, who captured an immense booty.

The military record of Muhammad Shah III's reign is indeed one of triumph. But his own voluptuousness, and the selfish intrigues of the nobles of his court, stood in the path of his progress in other respects, and ultimately caused his ruin. Being addicted to hard drinking, the Sultān became mentally unbalanced as years rolled on, and took a suicidal step by passing the death sentence on Mahmūd Gāwān on 5th April, 1481, at the instigation of his enemies, the Deccani nobles, who, being jealous of his power and success, produced a forged letter to persuade the Sultān to believe in the minister's treasonable correspondence with the Rāya of Vijayanagar. Thus Mahmūd Gāwān, who had served the Bahmanī kingdom as minister in three successive reigns with efficiency and honesty, for which he was entitled to the gratitude of his master, fell a prey to a conspiracy organised by a rival baronial clique, blind to the true interests of the State. With the unjust execution of this old minister "departed," remarks

Meadows Taylor rightly, "all the cohesion and power of the Bahmanī kingdom". In many respects, Mahmūd Gāwān's character was far superior to that of his contemporaries. Leading a simple and pure life, he was fond of learning and the society of the learned, which led him to maintain a magnificent college and a vast library at Bīdar; and his disinterested services as a public officer justly entitle him to our praise. Muhammad III discovered his own folly rather too late, and, seized with grief and remorse, he expired within a year on the 22nd March, A.D. 1482.

The Bahmanī kingdom was henceforth thrown into utter confusion, leading to its inevitable collapse. Mahmūd Shāh, the younger son and successor of Muhammad III, had neither the strength of personal character, nor the guidance of an able minister, to enable him to maintain the integrity of his kingdom. The feud between the Deccanis and the foreigners continued with unabated fury and rancour. The provincial governors availed themselves of the prevailing confusion to declare their independence. The nominal authority of Mahmūd came to be confined within a small area round the capital, and he and his four successors remained mere puppets in the hands of Qāsim Barīd-ul-Mamālik, a clever noble of Turkish origin, and after his death in 1504, in those of his son 'Amīr 'Ālī Barīd, "the fox of the Deccan". The last ruler, Kalīmullah Shāh, secretly tried to secure the help of Bābur to restore the lost fortunes of his dynasty, but was sadly disappointed. With his death in 1527 the Bahmanī dynasty came to an end after about one hundred and eighty years' rule.

The history of the Bahmanī dynasty in the Deccan on the whole offers no pleasant reading. Most of its Sultāns employed themselves chiefly in terrible wars, and its internal politics were severely distracted by court intrigues and civil strife. Among the eighteen kings of this dynasty, five were murdered, two died of intemperance, and three were deposed, two of them being blinded. The Bahmanī Sultāns should, however, be credited with patronage of learning and education according to their lights, erection of fortresses and buildings, and construction of irrigation works in the eastern provinces, which benefited the peasantry while securing more revenues to the State.

We get a glimpse of the condition of the common people in the Bahmanī kingdom from certain observations made by the Russian traveller, Althanasius Nikitin, who travelled in this kingdom during the years 1470 to 1474 in the reign of Muhammad Shāh III. He writes: "The Sultān is a little man, twenty years old, in the power of the nobles. . . . The Sultān goes out with 300,000 men

of his own troops. The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some 20 chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback and by 500 on foot, and by hornmen, ten torch-bearers, and ten musicians.

"The Sultān goes out hunting with his mother and his lady, and a train of 10,000 men on horseback, 50,000 on foot; 200 elephants adorned in gilded armour, and in front 100 horsemen, 100 dancers, and 300 common horses in golden clothing; 100 monkeys and 100 concubines, all foreign."

Thus the testimony of a foreign traveller tells us that the lot of the common people was hard as compared with the luxurious standard of living of the nobility. But there is no other positive evidence to enable us to form an accurate picture of the condition of the mass of the people during the whole of the Bahmanī period. The accounts of the Muslim chroniclers are full of details regarding military campaigns and wars against infidels, without any reference to the history of the people.

C. The Five Sultānates of the Deccan

Five separate Sultānates arose in the Deccan, one after another, on the break-up of the Bahmanī kingdom. These were known after the titles of their founders, as the Imād Shāhī dynasty of Berar, the Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar, the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpur, the Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golkundā and the Bārīd Shāhī dynasty of Bīdar. The first to secede was Berar, where Fathullāh Imād Shāh, a Hindu convert, declared his independence in A.D. 1484 and founded the Imād Shāhī dynasty. Berar was absorbed by Ahmadnagar in A.D. 1574.

Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, Governor of Bijāpur, asserted his independence in A.D. 1489–1490. He was known during his early days as a Georgian slave, who was purchased by Mahmūd Gāwān, and rose to prominence by dint of his merit and ability. Ferishta, however, relying on some private information, writes that he was the son of Sultān Murād II of Turkey, who died in A.D. 1451, that he fled from his country, first to Persia, and then to India at the age of seventeen, to save himself from assassination, ordered by his elder brother, Muhammad II, who had succeeded his father on the throne, and that he sold himself as a slave to the minister of the Bahmanī Sultān. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh was not a bigot. Religion was no bar to securing offices in his government, and he had a preference for

the Shiah creed, probably due to his sojourn in Persia. Free from vices in his private life, he was mindful of his duties as a ruler. Ferishta tells us that although Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh "mingled pleasure with business, yet he never allowed the former to interfere with the latter. He always warned his ministers to act with justice and integrity, and in his own person showed them an example of attention to those virtues. He invited to his court many learned men and valiant officers from Persia, Turkestān, and Rum, and also several eminent artists, who lived happy under the shadow of his bounty. In his reign the citadel of Bijāpur was made of stone". The reigns of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh's four immediate successors, Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, son of Yūsuf (1510–1534), Mallū, son of Ismā'īl (1534), Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, brother of Mallū (1534–1557), and 'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh, son of Ibrāhīm (1557–1579), were full of intrigues and wars. But the dynasty produced another remarkable ruler in Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, nephew and successor of 'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh, who governed the kingdom with universal toleration and wisdom till he died in A.D. 1626. In the opinion of Meadows Taylor, who wrote with some experience of Bijāpur and its local traditions, "he was the greatest of all the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty, and in most respects, except its founder, the most able and popular". The Bijāpur kingdom survived till its annexation by Aurangzeb in A.D. 1686.

The founder of the Ahmadnagar kingdom was Malik Ahmad, son of Nizām-ul-mulk Bahri, who sprang from the hereditary Hindu revenue officials of Pāthrī, north of the Godāvarī, took a leading part in the conspiracy against Mahmūd Gāwān, and became prime minister after his death. Malik Ahmad was appointed governor of Junnar, but in 1490 he declared himself independent. Some time later he transferred the seat of his government to a place of better strategic position and thus founded the city of Ahmadnagar. After several years' attempts, he captured Daulatābād in A.D. 1499, which helped him to consolidate his dominion. He died in A.D. 1508 and was succeeded by his son, Burhān Nizām Shāh, who, during his reign of forty-five years, waged wars with the neighbouring States and about A.D. 1550 allied himself with the Rāya of Vijayanagar against Bijāpur. His successor, Husain Nizām Shāh, joined the Muslim confederacy against Vijayanagar in 1565. After his death in that year, he was succeeded by his son, Murtazā Nizām Shāh I, a pleasure-loving youth, unfit to compete successfully with his adversaries. There is nothing of importance and interest in the subsequent history of Ahmadnagar except the heroic resistance offered by Chānd Bibi to Akbar's son, Prince Murād, in 1576, and

the military as well as administrative skill of Malik 'Ambar. The kingdom was overrun by the Mughuls in 1600, but it was not finally annexed to their Empire until 1633 in the reign of Shāh Jahān.

The Muslim kingdom of Golkundā grew up on the ruins of the old Hindu kingdom of Warangal, which was conquered by the Bahmanīs in A.D. 1424. The founder of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty was Qulī Shāh, a Turki officer of the Bahmanī kingdom during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī. He was appointed governor of Telingāna by Mahmūd Gāwān and remained loyal to his master till, as a protest against the power and insolence of the Barīds, he declared his independence in A.D. 1512 or 1518. He had a long and prosperous reign till he was murdered at the age of ninety in 1543 by his son Jamshīd, who reigned for seven years. Jamshīd's brother and successor, Ibrāhīm, fought against Vijayanagar in 1565 in alliance with the other Muslim Sultānates. He was a good ruler and freely admitted the Hindus to high offices in the State. After his death in 1611, the history of Golkundā was largely entangled with that of the Mughul Empire till it was annexed to it by Aurangzeb in 1687.

When the distant provinces of the Bahmanī kingdom declared their independence, the remnant of it survived only in name under the ascendancy of the Barīds. In 1526 or 1527 Amīr 'Ālī Barīd formally dispensed with the rule of the puppet Bahmanī Sultāns and founded the Bārīd Shāhī dynasty of Bīdar, which lasted till its territory was absorbed by Bijāpur in A.D. 1618–1619.

The five offshoots of the Bahmanī kingdom had some good rulers, notably in Bijāpur and Golkundā. The history of these Sultānates is largely a record of almost continuous quarrel with one another and with Vijayanagar. Each aspired to the supremacy of the Deccan, which was consequently turned into a scene of internal warfare, similar to what went on between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas in earlier days, or between Mysore, the Marāthas and the Nizām in the eighteenth century. The disruption of the Bahmanī kingdom, and the dissensions among the five Sultānates that rose on its ruins, seriously hampered the progress of Islam, political as well as religious, in the south, where the spirit of Hindu revival, that had manifested itself since the days of the Tughluqs, culminated in the rise and growth of the Vijayanagar Empire.

5. The Hindu Kingdoms—The Vijayanagar Empire

A. Political History

The early history of Vijayanagar is still shrouded in obscurity. Sewell, after referring to several traditional accounts about the origin of the great imperial city, remarks that "perhaps the most reasonable account would be culled from the general drift of the Hindu legends combined with the certainties of historical fact". He accepts the tradition according to which five sons of Sangama, of whom Harihara and Bukka were the most eminent, laid the foundation of the city and kingdom of Vijayanagar, on the southern bank of the Tungabhadrā facing the fortress of Anegundī on the northern bank. They got inspiration for their enterprise from the celebrated Brāhmaṇa sage and scholar of the day, Mādhava Vidyāraṇya, and his brother Sāyana, the famous commentator on the Vedas. This tradition is regarded by some as a later fabrication which found currency in the sixteenth century. In the opinion of Rev. Father Heras, the foundation of the city of Anegundī, which formed the cradle of the Vijayanagar Empire, was laid by the Hoysala king Vīra Ballāla III, and Harihara, a near relative of the Hoysala ruling family, was a frontier officer with his headquarters there. According to another writer, "the fortification of the city that afterwards became Vijayanagar must be regarded as the deliberate act of the great Hoysala ruler, Vīra Ballāla III. It was founded soon after the destruction of Kampilī by the army of Muhammad Tughluq, and immediately following the invasion of the Hoysala capital, Dorasamudra". The theory of Hoysala origin has been recently challenged by a writer who, in discussing the question from different sources, has argued that Harihara and Bukka founded the city and that they "shaped the course of their conduct" on the advice of Mādhava Vidyāraṇya, who is described in an inscription of Harihara II as "the supreme light incarnate". According to some authorities, the five brothers were fugitives from the Telugu country included in the Kākatīya kingdom of Warangal, the capital of which was captured by the Muhammadans in 1424. In the midst of these conflicting opinions, this much can be said with certainty, that Harihara and Bukka and their three brothers made earnest efforts to organise resistance against the advance of the invaders from the north. The significance of the Vijayanagar Empire in the history of India is that for well nigh three centuries it stood for the older religion and culture of the country and saved these from being engulfed by the rush of new ideas and forces. It also indirectly

prevented the extension of the influence of the Bahmanī kingdom and its offshoots in the north, where the power of the Delhi Sultānate had been already considerably weakened, by keeping them constantly engaged in the south. In short, "it was Vijayanagar which held the key to the political situation of the time", characterised by the decline of the Turko-Afghān Sultānate and the rise of important indigenous powers.

The first dynasty of Vijayanagar is named after Sangama. In the time of Harihara I and Bukka I, the Vijayanagar kingdom brought under its influence many principalities and divisions, including, in the opinion of some, most of the Hoysala territory. But it has been pointed out by some writers that Harihara I and Bukka I did not assume full imperial titles. In 1374 Bukka I sent an embassy to China and he died in A.D. 1378–1379. He was succeeded by his son, Harihara II, who undoubtedly assumed the imperial titles of Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparameśvara, etc. Sewell in his earlier work[1] states on the authority of some Muhammadan historians that Harihara's reign was a period of "unbroken peace". But it is proved by certain inscriptions that there were conflicts between the Vijayanagar Empire and the Muslims during his reign. As a matter of fact, the history of the Vijayanagar Empire, like that of the Bahmanī kingdom, is an unbroken record of bloody wars with different powers. In the cold weather of 1398, Bukka II, son of Harihara II, conducted a raid northwards to the Bahmanī territory, with his father's permission, with a view to seizing the Rāichūr Doāb, situated between the Krishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā, which formed the bone of contention between the Vijayanagar Empire and the Bahmanī kingdom. He was opposed and defeated by Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī and a peace was concluded by the middle of 1399, Fīrūz exacting a heavy indemnity. But as several inscriptions show, the reign of Harihara II saw the extension of Vijayanagar authority over the whole of Southern India, including Mysore, Kanara, Chingleput, Trinchinopoly and Conjeeveram (Kāñchī). Harihara II was a worshipper of Śiva under the form of Virupākṣa, but was tolerant of other religions. He died in August 1406, after which the succession to the throne was disputed for some time among his sons. Deva Rāya I, however, secured the throne for himself on the 5th November, 1406. He met with some reverses in his wars with the Bahmanī Sultāns and died in the year A.D. 1422. His son, Vijaya-Bukka or Vīra Vijaya, reigned for only a few months, then Deva Rāya II, son of Vijaya-Bukka, ascended the throne. Though Deva Rāya II's wars with the Bahmanīs ended in defeat and loss, his reign

[1] *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 51.

was marked by reorganisation of the administration. To compete with the Bahmanīs, Mussalmāns were admitted by him into the army; and, to control and regulate trade, he appointed his right-hand man, Lakkanna or Lakshmaṇa, to the "lordship of the southern sea", that is, to the charge of overseas commerce. Nicolo Conti, an Italian traveller, and 'Abdur-Razzāq, an envoy from Persia, visited Vijayanagar in 1420 and 1443 respectively; and they have left glowing descriptions of the city and the Empire of Vijayanagar. In fact, the Empire now extended over the whole of South India, reaching the shores of Ceylon, and attained the zenith of its prosperity during the rule of the first dynasty.

Deva Rāya II died in A.D. 1446 and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Mallikārjuna, who repelled a combined attack on his capital by the Bahmanī Sultan and the Rājā of the Hindu kingdom of Orissa and was able to keep his kingdom intact during his rule, which lasted till about A.D. 1465. It was during this reign that the Sāluva chief, Narasimha of Chandragiri, whose ancestors had served the Vijayanagar kingdom faithfully as its feudatories, rose into prominence and resisted the aggressions of the Bahmanī kingdom and the kingdom of Orissa. But Mallikārjuna's successor, Virūpāksha II, proved to be an incompetent ruler. Confusion and disorder naturally followed, taking advantage of which some of the provinces revolted, the Bahmanī Sultān advanced into the Doāb between the Kṛishṇā and the Tungabhadrā, and Rājā Purusottama Gajapati of Orissa advanced as far south as Tiruvannāmalai.

To save the kingdom from these dangers, Narasimha Sāluva deposed his worthless master and seized the throne for himself in about A.D. 1486. Thus the Sangama dynasty was overthrown by what has been called the "First Usurpation" and Vijayanagar passed under the rule of the Sāluva dynasty. Narasimha Sāluva enjoyed the confidence of the people. With the interests of the Empire at heart, he recovered most of the revolted provinces during his six years' rule, though the Rāichūr Doāb remained under the control of the Bahmanīs and Udayagiri under that of the Rājā of Orissa.

Narasimha Sāluva had the prudence to charge his trusted general, Narasa Nāyaka, who claimed descent from a dynasty which ruled over the Tuluva country, with the responsibility for the administration of the kingdom after him, though he desired that his sons should succeed him. Epigraphic evidence disproves the statement of the Muhammadan historians, and of Nuniz, that Narasa Nāyaka murdered the two sons of his master and usurped

the throne for himself. In reality he remained loyal to the dynasty of his master. He placed the latter's younger son, Immadi Narasimha, on the throne, when the elder died of wounds in a battle, though he ably managed the affairs of the State as its *de facto* ruler. It was only when he himself died in A.D. 1505 that his son, Vīra Narasimha, deposed the last Sāluva ruler and seized the throne for himself. This "Second Usurpation" led to the direct rule of the Tuluva dynasty over the Vijayanagar Empire. Vīra Narasimha is described on some copper plates and also by Nuniz as a pious king who distributed gifts at sacred places.

Vīra Narasimha was succeeded by his younger brother, Kṛishṇadeva Rāya, by far the greatest ruler of Vijayanagar, and one of the most famous kings in the history of India. A gallant and active warrior, he was always successful in the wars that he waged almost throughout his reign. He first turned his attention towards suppressing the feudatories in the central portion of his empire before trying to meet his great rivals in the north. Leaving his headquarters towards the end of 1510, he marched against the refractory chief of Ummattūr in Southern Mysore. He was defeated and the fortress of Sivasamudram was captured (1511–1512). Other neighbouring chiefs were also reduced to obedience. In 1512 Kṛishṇadeva Rāya moved towards the Bijāpur frontier and took possession of Rāichūr. Under the advice of his able and experienced minister and general, Sāluva Timma, he did not now invade the Muhammadan territories but turned against Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa in 1513, with a view to recovering the territories that his predecessors had captured from Vijayanagar during the reigns of the last rulers of the first dynasty. Early in 1514 he captured the fortress of Udayagiri and made prisoners of an uncle and an aunt of the Rājā of Orissa, who were, however, treated with honour. By the first half of the next year he had captured the strong fortress of Kondavīdu and other fortresses of lesser importance in the neighbourhood, in spite of the fact that the Rājā of Orissa had received assistance from the Sultāns of Golkundā and Bīdar. He also took as captives the Gajapati prince, Vīrabhadra, and some other Orissa nobles. The prince was appointed by him governor of a province, and this fact, remarks Krishna Shastri, "testifies to the high statesmanship of Krishnarāya". In his third campaign against the King of Orissa, Kṛishṇadeva Rāya encamped at Bezwāda, laid siege to Kondapalli and captured it. The wife and a son (other than Prince Vīrabhadra) of the Rājā of Orissa and some Orissa nobles and generals fell into his hands on this occasion also. He then advanced north-eastwards as far as Simhāchalam in the

Vizagapatam district and forced his Orissan contemporary to come to terms. The last great military achievement of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya was his victory over Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh near Rāichūr on the 19th March, 1520, when the latter attempted to recover the Rāichūr Doāb. He is said to have overrun the Bijāpur territory and to have razed to the ground the fortress of Gulbarga. In short, the military conquests of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya enabled him to humble the pride of his northern foes and to extend the limits of his Empire up to the South Konkan in the west, Vizagapatam in the east and the extreme border of the peninsula in the south, while some islands and coasts of the Indian Ocean were within its sphere of influence. During the last few years of his life he devoted his attention to the organisation of the Empire in all respects and to works of peaceful administration.

Kṛishṇadeva Rāya maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese and granted them some concessions, since, writes Sewell, "he benefited largely by the import of horses and other requisites". In 1510 the Portuguese governor, Albuquerque, solicited his permission to build a fort at Bhatkal, which was granted after the Portuguese had captured Goa from the Muslims. The Portuguese traveller, Paes, praises him in eloquent terms: "He is the most learned and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly; asking all about their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to certain fits of rage . . . he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has in fact nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things."

The reign of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya not only marked the climax in the territorial expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire, but was also remarkable for the encouragement and development of art and letters. Himself an accomplished scholar, the Rāya was a generous patron of learning. He was "in no way less famous", writes Krishna Shastri, "for his religious zeal and catholicity. He respected all sects of the Hindu religion alike, though his personal leanings were in favour of Vaishṇavism. . . . Krishnarāya's kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his genial

look and polite conversation which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love for literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people, and above all, the most fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brāhmaṇas, mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs who sheds a lustre on the pages of history." In fact, the Vijayanagar Empire rose, during his reign, to the zenith of its glory and prosperity, when the old Turko-Afghān Sultānate was almost a shrivelled and attenuated carcase and was soon to be swept away by a fresh Turkish invasion.

But dangers lurked for the Vijayanagar Empire in the ambition of her powerful neighbours in the north and in the attitude of her viceroys, two of whom, the viceroy of Madura and the viceroy who was in charge of the central block of the kingdom, rebelled even during the last days (1528 or 1529) of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya. The former was brought back to submission before the death of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya, but the latter had to be "dealt with only at the beginning of his successor's reign".

Kṛishṇadeva Rāya died in A.D. 1529 or 1530 and was succeeded by his half-brother, Achyuta Rāya, who, as epigraphic and literary evidences show, was not "altogether the craven that he is represented by Nuniz to have been". He chastised the rebel viceroy of Madura and reduced to obedience the Rājā of Travancore, who had given shelter to the former. But he soon committed the blunder of relaxing his personal hold on the administration, which fell under the control of his two brothers-in-law, both named Tirumala. This irritated the other viceroys, who formed a rival party under the leadership of three brothers, Rāma, Tirumala and Venkata, of the Āravīḍu dynasty, connected by marriage with the reigning Tuluva dynasty. The kingdom was consequently plunged into troubles which continued throughout the whole course of its imperial history and did not cease till it entirely disappeared. After the death of Achyuta Rāya in A.D. 1541 or 1542, his son, Venkatādri or Venkata I, ascended the throne, but his reign did not last for more than six months and the crown then passed to Sadāsiva, a nephew of Achyuta. Sadāsiva Rāya was a mere puppet in the hands of his minister, Rāma Rāya, of the Āravīḍu dynasty, who was the *de facto* ruler of the State. Rāma Rāya was endowed with ability and was determined to restore the power of the Vijayanagar Empire, which had sunk low after the death of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya. One important feature of Rāma Rāya's policy was his active interference in the quarrels among the Deccan Sultānates, in alliance first with one and then with another. His

enterprises were, indeed, successful for the time being. But these made him over-confident and haughty and ultimately proved to be a cause of disaster for the Empire. In 1543 Rāma Rāya formed an alliance with Ahmadnagar and Golkundā with a view to attacking Bijāpur. But his object was baffled by the diplomacy of the Bijāpur minister, Asad Khān, who concluded peace separately with Burhān Nizām Shāh and Rāma Rāya, and thus broke up the coalition. A change of alliance took place in 1558, when Bijāpur, Golkundā and Vijayanagar joined against Ahmadnagar and invaded it. On this occasion the army of Vijayanagar alienated the people of Ahmadnagar.

The haughty conduct of the Vijayanagar army kindled the long-standing, though smouldering, hostility of the Sultānates of the Deccan against Vijayanagar, and all, with the exception of that of Berar, joined in a coalition against it, which was cemented by matrimonial alliances. The allied Deccan Sultāns fought against Vijayanagar on the 23rd January, 1565, at a site marked by the two villages of Rāksas and Tagdi. This battle resulted in the defeat of the huge Vijayanagar army with immense losses. "The victors," writes the author of *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, "captured jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp-equipage, drums, standards, maidservants, menservants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantity that the whole army was enriched." "The plunder was so great," notes Ferishta, "that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use." Husain Nizām Shāh killed Rāma Rāya with his own hand and exclaimed: "Now I am avenged of thee! Let God do what He will to me." The magnificent city of Vijayanagar was sacked and deprived of its splendour by the invading army in a manner which has been described by Sewell as follows: "The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious Mussalmāns had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment, but now they had reached the capital, and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagar knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy and they carried out their object relentlessly. . . . Nothing seemed to escape them. They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals, and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated buildings forming the temple of Viṭṭhalasvāmī near the river, and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars

and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."

The so-called battle of Talikota is indeed one of the decisive battles in the history of India. It destroyed the chance of Hindu supremacy in the south, which was left open to the invasions of the rulers of a new Turkish dynasty, till the rise of the Marātha power in the seventeenth century. Undoubtedly the battle did vital damage to the Vijayanagar Empire, but recent researches have proved that it did not disappear altogether as a result of it. "Talikota," remarks a modern writer aptly, "was the climacteric, but not the grand climacteric of the Vijayanagar Empire." In fact, the Empire continued to exist till the early part of the seventeenth century under the rulers of the Āravīḍu dynasty, "before it got weakened and dismembered—weakened by the constant invasions from the north and dismembered by the dissatisfaction and rebellion of the viceroys within".

The victorious Sultānates did not ultimately gain much as a result of this battle. Their alliance was soon dissolved and there was a recrudescence of mutual jealousy. This afforded the Vijayanagar Empire the opportunity for recuperation under Rāma Rāya's brother, Tirumala. He returned to Vijayanagar after the Muslims had left it, but after a short stay there went to Penugondā, and restored the prestige and power of the Empire to such an extent as to be able to interfere in the affairs of the Muslim kingdoms. Towards the end of his reign, in about A.D. 1570, he dispensed with the phantom of the nominal ruler, Sadāsiva, and usurped the throne for the Āravīḍu dynasty to which he belonged. His son and successor, Ranga II, continued after him his policy of increasing the efficiency of the Empire. Ranga II was succeeded about A.D. 1586 by his brother, Venkata II, who had his headquarters at Chandragiri and died after a glorious reign in A.D. 1614. He may be regarded as the last great ruler of Vijayanagar, who kept the Empire intact with the exception that in A.D. 1612 Rājā Oedyar founded, with his permission, the kingdom of Mysore, on the extinction of the viceroyalty of Srirangapatan. His death was the signal for the dismemberment of the Empire. It was followed by a war of succession, and the consequent rise of disintegrating forces. These could not be checked by Ranga III, the last important ruler

of Vijayanagar, in spite of his best attempts, owing to the selfish attitude of the rebel vassals of the Empire and the ambition of the Muslim States of Bijāpur and Golkundā. Thus the Hindu feudatories of the Vijayanagar Empire proved to be her enemies in the long run. Their "insane pride, blind selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissensions" largely facilitated the conquest of the Hindu Deccan by the Muslim States of Bijāpur and Golkundā. Further, subordinate viceroys, like the Chiefs of Seringapatam and Beḍnūr (Keḷadi, Ikkeri), and the Nāiks of Madura and Tanjore, carved out independent kingdoms for themselves.

B. Splendour and Wealth of Vijayanagar

Foreign travellers who visited India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have left glowing accounts of the Empire of Vijayanagar. The city of Vijayanagar was encompassed by massive fortifications and was of enormous size. The Italian traveller, Nicolo Conti, who visited it about A.D. 1420 writes: "The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms. . . . The King is more powerful than all the other kings of India." 'Abdur Razzāq, who came to India from Persia and went to Vijayanagar in A.D. 1442–1443, observes: "The country is so well populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the King's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers." Domingos Paes, a Portuguese, who has recorded a detailed description of Vijayanagar, writes: "Its King has much treasure and many soldiers and many elephants, for there are numbers of these in this country. . . . In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds. . . . This is the best provided city in the world, and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian corn, and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses, horse-grain and many other seeds which grow in this country, which are the food of the people, and there is a large store of these and very cheap. . . . The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count. . . ." Edoardo Barbosa, who was present in India in

A.D. 1516, describes Vijayanagar as "of great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar".

C. Economic Condition of the Vijayanagar Empire

It is clear from foreign accounts, and also other sources, that unbounded prosperity prevailed in the Vijayanagar Empire. Agriculture flourished in different parts of the realm and the State pursued a wise irrigation policy. The principal industries related to textiles, mining and metallurgy, and the most important of the minor industries was perfumery. Craftsmen's and merchants' guilds played an important part in the economic life of the kingdom. 'Abdur Razzāq writes: "The tradesmen of each separate guild or craft have their shops close to one another." Paes also observes: "There were temples in every street, for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants."

The most remarkable feature in the economic condition of the kingdom was commerce, inland, coasting and overseas. The most important port on the Malabar coast was Calicut, and, according to 'Abdur Razzāq, the Empire "possessed 300 seaports". It had commercial relations with the islands in the Indian Ocean, the Malay Archipelago, Burma, China, Arabia, Persia, South Africa, Abyssinia and Portugal. The principal articles of export were cloth, rice, iron, saltpetre, sugar and spices, and the imports into the Empire were horses, elephants, pearls, copper, coral, mercury, China silks and velvet. The cheap means of transport for inland trade were *kāvadis*, head-loads, pack-horses, pack-bullocks, carts and asses. Ships were in use for coasting and overseas trade. According to Barbosa, South India got its ships built in the Maldive Islands. Epigraphic evidence proves that the rulers of Vijayanagar maintained fleets and the people there were acquainted with the art of ship-building before the advent of the Portuguese. We have, however, no definite knowledge as to how the Vijayanagar Empire "dealt with the important question of ocean transport".

The coinage of the Vijayanagar Empire was of various types, both in gold and copper, and there was one specimen of a silver coin. The coins bore on them emblems of different gods and animals varying according to the religious faith of the rulers. The prices of articles were low. The accounts of the foreign travellers tell us that the upper classes of the people had a high standard of living;

but we know from inscriptions that the common people groaned under the weight of heavy taxation, collected with rigour by the local governors, who were, however, sometimes restrained by the supreme rulers.

D. Social Life in the Vijayanagar Empire

Accounts of foreign travellers, inscriptions, and literature, contain copious references regarding the different aspects of the social life of the people in the Vijayanagar Empire, of which we can study here only the more striking ones. Women in general occupied a high position in society, and instances of the active part they took in the political, social and literary life of the country are not rare. Besides being trained in wrestling, handling swords and shields, music and other fine arts, some of them at any rate received a fair amount of literary education. Nuniz writes: "He (the King of Vijayanagar) has also women who wrestle, and others who are astrologers and soothsayers; and he has women who write all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the gates, and others whose duty it is to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside; he has women also for music, who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the King are well-versed in music. . . . It is said that he has judges, as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace, and these are women." Plurality of wives was a recognised practice, especially among the wealthy classes, and child marriage was the usual custom. The evil practice of exacting exorbitant dowries was greatly prevalent among those who were well placed in life. The State occasionally interfered in social affairs to settle disputes among various communities. The rite of *Satī*, or women burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands, was very common in Vijayanagar, and the Brāhmaṇas freely sanctioned it. Being held in high esteem by the rulers, the Brāhmaṇas exercised a predominant influence not merely in social and religious matters but also in the political affairs of the State. Nuniz describes them as "honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well formed, but little fit for hard work".

There were no strict restrictions in matters of diet. Besides fruits, vegetables and oil, meat of all kinds, excepting that of oxen or cows, for which the people had great veneration, was taken by the general population; but the Brāhmaṇas never killed

or ate any "live thing". Nuniz gives the following description about the diet of the Vijayanagar Kings:

"These Kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows, which they never kill because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds; even sparrows and rats, and cats, and lizards, all of which are sold in the market of the city of Bisnaga.

"Everything has to be sold alive so that each may know what he buys—this at least so far as concerns game—and there are fish from the rivers in large quantities."

If the statements of Paes and Nuniz be true, this was, remarks Dr. Smith, "a curious dietary for princes and people, who in the time of Krishnadeva Rāya and Achyuta Rāya were zealous Hindus with a special devotion to certain forms of Vishnu". Most probably rats, cats and lizards were eaten by the lower section of the people, who formed the non-Aryan element in the Vijayanagar population.

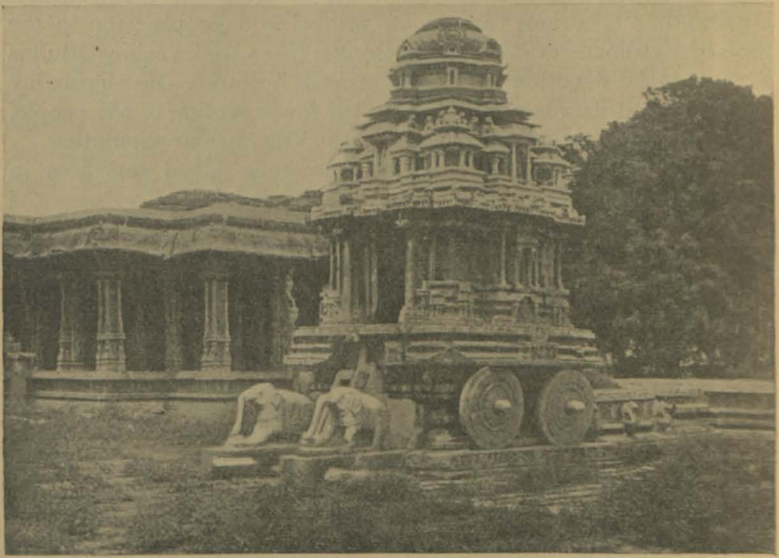
The foreign travellers refer to numerous blood sacrifices in the kingdom. According to Paes, the King used to witness the sacrifice of 24 buffaloes and 150 sheep, the animals being decapitated by a single blow of a large sickle. On the last day of the famous "nine days festival" 250 buffaloes and 4,500 sheep were slaughtered.

E. Art and Literature

The Vijayanagar Empire has to its credit brilliant cultural and artistic achievements. The Emperors were patrons of all languages—Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Kannaḍa, and under their fostering care some of the finest pieces of literature were produced. Sāyana, the famous commentator of the Vedas, and his brother, Mādhava, flourished during the early days of Vijayanagar rule and were deeply attached to the State. The reign of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya was of special importance in this branch of activity as in all others. It marked "the dawn of a new era in the literary history of South India. Himself a scholar, a musician and poet, he loved to gather around him poets, philosophers, and religious teachers whom he honoured with munificent gifts of land and money". He wrote his *magnum opus*, *Āmuktamālyadā*, in Telugu, in the introduction to which he refers to five Sanskrit works written by him. This book is not merely of religious interest but also of great historical importance for the reign of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya. In his court "flourished the '*Asṭadiggajas*', 'the eight elephants' (famous poets), who supported the world of (Telugu) literature". His poet laureate, Peddana, enjoyed a wide reputation and held a high

position among Telugu writers. Even the rulers of the Āravīḍu dynasty patronised poets and religious teachers, and Telugu literature flourished under them with "reinforced vigour". There were also authors among the petty chiefs and relatives of the emperors. Works on music, dancing, drama, grammar, logic, philosophy, etc., received encouragement from the emperors and their ministers. In short, the Vijayanagar Empire was a "synthesis of South Indian culture".

Along with the growth of culture we have a remarkable development of art and architecture. The ruins of the old capital of this



VIṬṬHALASVĀMĪ TEMPLE, VIJAYANAGAR

Empire proclaim to the world that there evolved, in the days of its glory, a distinct style of architecture, sculpture and painting by native artists. The famous Hazāra temple, built during the reign of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya, is, remarks Longhurst, "one of the most perfect specimens of Hindu temple architecture in existence". The Viṭṭhalasvāmī temple is also a fine example of Vijayanagar style. In the opinion of Fergusson, it "shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced". The art of painting attained a high degree of excellence, and the art of music rapidly developed. Some new works on the subject of music were produced. Kṛishṇadeva Rāya and the Regent, Rāma Rāya, were proficient

in music. Theatres provided amusement for the people of the kingdom.

Epigraphic and literary evidence clearly shows that the rulers of Vijayanagar were of pious disposition and devoted to Dharma. But they were not fanatics. Their attitude towards the prevailing four sects, Saiva, Bauddha, Vaishṇava and Jaina, and even alien creeds, Christian, Jewish and Moorish, was liberal. Barbosa writes: "The King allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Hindu."

F. *Administration of the Vijayanagar Empire*

The Vijayanagar Empire gradually developed a centralised administration with all its branches carefully organised. No doubt, for the task which they set before themselves, its rulers had to maintain a strong army and also to undertake miliṭary expeditions, but it does not seem to be correct to describe their State as an essentially military one based on force and condemn it as an organisation which "contained no principle of development; . . . represented no ideal of human progress and therefore could not be lasting", as a modern writer has done. As a matter of fact, with the expansion of the Empire, its rulers organised the administration with such efficiency as served to remove the disorders that had prevailed during the periods of war and facilitate the pursuit of peaceful activities in various fields.

As in other medieval governments, the King was the fountain-head of all power in the Vijayanagar State. He was the supreme authority in civil, military as well as judicial affairs, and also often intervened to settle social disputes. But he was not an irresponsible despot, neglecting the interests of the kingdom and ignoring the rights and wishes of the people. The Vijayanagar kings knew how to secure the good-will of the people; and by their liberal policy they "conduced towards bringing peace and plenty into the kingdom". "A crowned King," writes Krishnadeva Rāya in his *Āmuktamālyadā*, "should always rule with an eye towards *Dharma*." He further says that "a King should rule collecting round him people skilled in statecraft, should investigate the mines yielding precious metals in his kingdom and extract the same, should levy taxes from his people moderately, should counteract the acts of his enemies by crushing them with force, should be friendly, should protect one and all of his subjects,

should put an end to the mixing up of the castes among them, should always try to increase the merit of the Brāhmaṇas, should strengthen his fortress and lessen the growth of the undesirable things and should be ever mindful of the purification of his cities . . ."

The King was assisted in the task of administration by a council of ministers, appointed by him. Though the Brāhmaṇas held high offices in the administration and had considerable influence, the ministers were recruited not only from their ranks but also from those of the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas. The office of a minister was "sometimes hereditary and sometimes rested on selection". Both 'Abdur Razzāq and Nuniz refer to the existence of a sort of secretariat. Besides the ministers, the other officers of the State were the chief treasurer; the custodians of the jewels; an officer who was to look after the commercial interests of the State; the prefect of the police, who was responsible for the prevention of crime and maintenance of order in the city; the chief master of the horse; and subordinate officials like the *bhāṭs*, who sang the praise of the kings, the *betel*-bearers or personal attendants of the King, the calendar-makers, the engravers and the composer of inscriptions.

A magnificent court was maintained by the kings of Vijayanagar in the capital city at a huge cost of money. It was attended by nobles, priests, litterateurs, astrologers and musicians, and festivals were celebrated with great pomp and grandeur.

The Empire was divided for administrative purposes into several provinces (*rājya, maṇḍala, chāvaḍi*), which had again subdivisions like *venṭhe*,[1] *nāḍu*,[2] *sīma*, village and *sthala*[3] in the Karnātaka portion, and *koṭṭam*,[4] *parru*, *nāḍu* and village in the Tamil portion. It is very difficult to state the exact number of provinces in the Empire. Some writers relying on Paes write that the Empire was divided into 200 provinces. But the foreign traveller evidently "confounds the tributary kings with the provincial viceroys, and these again with the minor nobles who were merely officials in the government". According to H. Krishna Shastri, the Empire was divided into six principal provinces. Each province was under a viceroy, *nāyaka* or *nāik*,[5] who might be a member of the royal house,

[1] A territorial division higher than a *nāḍu*.

[2] A territorial division higher than a village.

[3] A portion of land comprising several fields.

[4] A territorial division higher than a *parru*, which again was higher than a *nāḍu*.

[5] The designation of Nāik was also given to the collectors of customs and military commanders.

or an influential noble of the State, or some descendant of the old ruling families. Each viceroy exercised civil, military and judicial powers within his jurisdiction, but he was required to submit regular accounts of the income and expenditure of his charge to the central government and render it military aid in times of need. Further, he was liable to severe punishment by the King if he proved to be a traitor or oppressed the people, and his estate could be confiscated to the State if he made default in sending one-third of his income to the latter. Though the *nāiks* were generally severe in raising revenue from the people, they were not unmindful of beneficial work like the encouragement of agriculture, the plantation of new villages, protection of religion and erection of temples and other buildings. But they were greatly responsible for the disorders which prevailed in Southern India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the power of Vijayanagar disappeared for ever.

The Vijayanagar rulers inherited and continued to maintain a healthy and vigorous system of local administration, with the village as the lowest unit. Each village was a self-sufficient unit. The village assembly, like the *Panchāyat* of Northern India, conducted the administration of the area under its charge—executive, judicial and police—through its hereditary officers like the *senateova* or the village accountant, the *talara* or the village watchman or commandant, the *begāra* or the superintendent of forced labour, and others. These village officers were paid either by grants of land or a portion of agricultural produce. The heads of commercial groups or corporations seem "to have formed an integral part of the village assemblies". The King maintained a link with the village administration through his officer called the *Mahānāyakāchārya*, who exercised a general supervision over it.

Land revenue, known as *śist*, was the principal source of income of the Vijayanagar State. It had an efficient system of land revenue administration, under a department called the *aṭhavane*. Lands were classified under three heads for the purpose of assessment—wet land, dry land, and orchards and woods; and the assessments to be paid by the tenants were clearly indicated. To meet the heavy burdens of the State, and solve the problem of obtaining men and money to withstand its enemies, the Vijayanagar Emperors gave up the traditional rate of assessment at one-sixth of the produce and increased it to some extent. It is difficult to accept the statement of Nuniz that the "husbandmen had to pay one-tenth of their produce". The Vijayanagar rulers adopted the "principle of differential taxation", that is, levied taxes according

to the relative fertility of the lands. Besides the land tax, the *ryots* had to pay other kinds of taxes like grazing tax, marriage tax, etc. Other sources of income of the State were the revenue from customs duties; tolls on roads; revenue from gardening and plantations; and taxes levied on dealers in goods of common consumption, manufacturers and craftsmen, potters, washermen, shoemakers, barbers, mendicants, temples and prostitutes. Taxes were paid both in cash and kind, as during the days of the Cholas.

There is no doubt that the incidence of taxation was heavy and the provincial governors and revenue officials often practised oppression on the people. But at the same time there are instances to show that the Government redressed the grievances of the people on complaints being made to it and sometimes reduced or remitted taxes, and that the people could appeal directly to the King in time of need. The Empire could certainly not last for about three centuries on a systematic policy of extortion and oppression.

The King was the supreme judge, but there were regular courts and special judicial officers for the administration of justice. Sometimes, disputes were settled by the State officials with the co-operation of the local bodies. The only law of the land was not "the law of the Brāhmaṇas which is that of the priests", as Nuniz would ask us to believe, but was based on traditional regulations and customs, strengthened by the constitutional usage of the country, and its observance was strictly enforced. Severe punishment was inflicted on guilty persons. These penalties were chiefly of four kinds—fines, confiscation of property, ordeals and death. Death or mutilation was the punishment for crimes like theft, adultery and treason. Sometimes the criminals were "cast down before the feet of an elephant, that they may be killed by its knees, trunk and tusks". Official oppression in the sphere of justice was not absent, but the State occasionally granted remedies against it, and it was also "sometimes successfully checked by the united opposition of corporate bodies".

Like the Hoysalas, the rulers of Vijayanagar had a carefully organised military department, called *Kandāchāra*, under the control of the *Dandanāyaka* or *Dannāyaka* (Commander-in-Chief), who was assisted by a staff of minor officials. The State maintained a large and efficient army, the numerical strength of which was not, however, uniform all through. The regular troops of the King were, in times of need, reinforced by auxiliary forces of the feudatories and nobles. The several component parts of the army were the infantry, recruited from people of different classes and creeds, occasionally including even Muslims; the cavalry, strengthened by

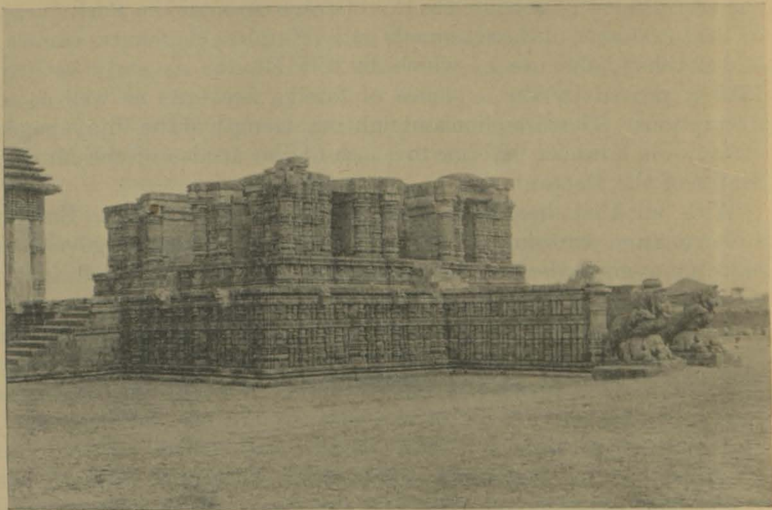
the recruitment of good horses from Ormuz through the Portuguese, owing to a dearth of these animals in the Empire; elephants; camels; and artillery, the use of which by the Hindus as early as A.D. 1368 is proved by the evidence of foreign accounts as well as of inscriptions. The discipline and fighting strength of the Vijayanagar army were, however, inferior to those of the armies of the Muslim States of the Deccan.

With all that has been said above, the Vijayanagar Empire suffered from certain defects. Firstly, the provincial governors enjoyed a good deal of independence, which contributed in no small degree to the weakening of the central authority and ultimately to the disintegration of the Empire. Secondly, the Empire failed to develop a sustained commercial activity in spite of various facilities. "This failure," remarks Dr. Aiyangar justly, "proved a vital defect in the imperial career of Vijayanagar, and made a permanent Hindu Empire impossible." Thirdly, in consideration of temporary gains, the Emperors allowed the Portuguese to settle on the west coast and thus "principles of profit" overrode "the greater question of the stability of their Empire".

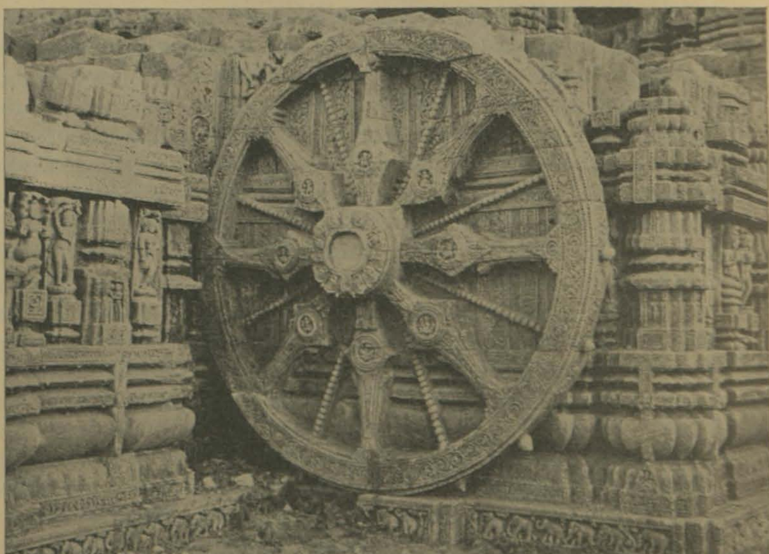
The Kingdom of Orissa

Orissa was consolidated into a powerful kingdom by Anantavarman Choḍa Ganga during his long reign of more than seventy years (*cir.* 1076–1148). It appears from several inscriptions that the kingdom then extended from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Godāvarī in the south. Choḍa Ganga's achievements in the domain of peace were also remarkable. He was a patron of religion, and of Sanskrit as well as Telugu literature. The great temple of Jagannāth at Purī stands as a brilliant monument to "the artistic vigour and prosperity of Orissa during his reign". The successors of Choḍa Ganga effectively checked the invasions of the Muslims and maintained the prosperity of their kingdom. The most famous of them was Narasimha I (1238–1264), who, besides achieving a remarkable success against the Muslims of Bengal, probably completed the construction of the temple of Jagannāth at Purī and built the great temple of the Sun-God at Koṇārak in the Purī district. After the death of Narasimha, the fortunes of the dynasty began to decline, and it was supplanted in about A.D. 1434–1435 by a solar dynasty, which ruled in Orissa for more than a century.

The founder of the new dynasty, Kapilendra, was endowed with considerable ability and vigour, and restored the prestige of the



BLACK PAGODA, DANCING HALL, KOṆĀRAK



CHARIOT WHEEL, KOṆĀRAK

kingdom of Orissa, which had sunk low during the reigns of the later Gangas. He suppressed the powerful rebels in his own country, fought successfully with the Bahmanīs of Bīdar and the rulers of Vijayanagar, succeeded in extending his dominions from the Ganges to the Kāverī, and even marched with a victorious army to the vicinity of Bīdar in the heart of the Bahmanī kingdom. It is stated in the Gopināthpur inscription that he took possession of Udayagiri, the seat of a Vijayanagar viceroyalty, and Conjeeveram. The beginning of the reign of the next ruler, Purushottama (A.D. 1470–1497), was marked by certain disorders during which the kingdom of Orissa lost its southern half from the Godāvarī downwards. Sāluva Narasimha captured the country to the south of the Kṛishṇā and the Bahmanīs seized the Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā Doāb. But towards the end of his reign Purushottama recovered the Doāb and regained a part of the Andhra country as far as the modern Guntur district. It cannot be said with certainty if he recovered any of the Tamil districts of the empire of Kapilendra.

Purushottama's son and successor, Pratāparudra (1497–1540), a contemporary and disciple of Chaitanya, inherited a kingdom extending from the Hugli and Midnāpur districts of Bengal to the Guntur district of Madras, and including also a part of the highlands of Telingāna. But it was not destined to maintain this extent for long owing to the aggressions of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar and of the growing Qutb Shāhī kingdom of Golkundā on the eastern coast. As a result of three campaigns, Pratāparudra had to cede to his more powerful Vijayanagar contemporary that portion of his kingdom which lay to the south of the Godāvarī. The Sultān Quli Qutb Shāh of Golkundā invaded the kingdom of Orissa in 1522.

Some believe that this political decline of Orissa was a sequel to the loss of martial spirit by her rulers and people due to the effect of Vaishṇavism preached by Chaitanya. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the kingdom of Orissa lost its old power from the beginning of the sixteenth century. About A.D. 1541–1542 the dynasty of Kapilendra was supplanted by the Bhoi dynasty, which was so called because its founder, Govinda, formerly a minister of Pratāparudra, belonged to the Bhoi or writer caste. Govinda, his son and two grandsons reigned for about eighteen years. The dynasty was ousted, in about A.D. 1559, by Mukunda Harichandana, who did his best to save the kingdom of Orissa from Muslim invasions till his death in A.D. 1568, and whose alliance was sought by Akbar in pursuance of his policy of attacking the

Afghāns of Bengal from both sides. The Kararānī Sultāns of Bengal annexed Orissa in A.D. 1568. The Hindu renegade, Kālāpāhār, who had accompanied Sulaimān Kararānī's son, Bāyazīd, to Orissa, is said to have desecrated the temple of Jagannāth and even made attempts to destroy the wooden idols. Then began a Mughul-Afghān contest for the possession of Orissa.

Mewār

Some of the Rājput States were stirred with the spirit of revival on the dismemberment of the Turko-Afghān Empire. The most



CHITORGARH

(Affording a view of the Kīrtistambha at the upper right corner)

prominent of these was the Guhila principality of Mewār, where the Rājput genius unfolded itself so brilliantly and which for generations produced a succession of brave generals, heroic leaders, prudent rulers and some brilliant poets. As early as the seventh century A.D. the brave and chivalrous Rājputs of the Guhila clan established their power in this territory. We have already narrated how 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī besieged and captured Chitor, the capital of Mewār, and how Hamīr, or his son, delivered it from the hands of

the Muslims and retrieved the lost honour of his race. Hamīr died full of years possibly in A.D. 1364 "leaving a name still honoured in Mewār as one of the wisest and most gallant of her princes and bequeathing well-established and extensive power" to his son, Kshetra Simha. Kshetra Simha being killed in the course of a family quarrel in or about A.D. 1382 was succeeded by his son, Lākhā. On Lākhā's death after 1418 (?), his son, Mokala, ascended the throne of Mewār, but he was assassinated in or about A.D. 1431 by two of his uncles. The next Rānā of Mewār was Kumbha, one of the most famous rulers in the history of India. His reign was an important period in the annals of his country. Tod thus praises his achievements: "All that was wanting to augment her (Mewār's) resources against the storms which were collecting on the brows of Caucasus and the shores of Oxus, and were destined to burst on the head of his grandson, Sangha, was effected by Kumbha; who with Hamīr's energy, Lākhā's taste for arts, and a genius comprehensive as either or more fortunate, succeeded in all his undertakings, and once more raised the 'crimson banner' of Mewār upon the banks of the Ghaggar, the scene of Samarsi's defeat." Kumbha fought against the Muslim rulers of Mālwa and Gujarāt, and although success did not attend all his enterprises, he could hold his own position against his ambitious neighbours. He was also a mighty builder, to whom Mewār is indebted for some of her finest monuments. Of the eighty-four fortresses built for the defence of Mewār, thirty-two were erected by Kumbha. The most brilliant monument of his military and constructive genius is the fortress of *Kumbhalgarh*, "second to none in strategical importance or historical renown". Kumbha's *Jayastambha*, also called the *Kīrtistambha* (Tower of Fame), is another monument of his genius. Further, the Rānā was a poet, a man of letters and an accomplished musician. He was assassinated by his son, Udaya Karan, probably in A.D. 1469. This cruelty of Udaya's horrified the nobles, who acknowledged his younger brother, Rāyamalla, as the Rānā. Rāyamalla's sons quarrelled among themselves for the succession and ultimately one of them, Sangrāma, or Sanga, as he was popularly called, succeeded to the throne of Mewār in or about A.D. 1509. Sanga was endowed with remarkable military prowess. A hero of a hundred fields, he bore the scars of eighty wounds on his body in addition to having an eye blinded and a leg crippled. He fought successfully against Mālwa, Delhi and Gujarāt, and organised the financial resources and the military forces of Mewār with a view to building her supremacy on the break-up of the Delhi Sultānate. Thus a contest between him and any other power then trying to establish

supremacy in Northern India was inevitable. The battle of Khānua, to be described in a subsequent chapter, was a logical outcome of this fact.

Kāmarūpa and Assam

At the time of the advent of the Muslims in Bengal in the early thirteenth century, the Brahmaputra valley was parcelled out into a number of independent principalities, at war with one another. A line of Chutiya (a tribe of mixed Bodo-Shān stock) kings ruled over the tract east of the Subansiri and the Disang, while a strip to the south and south-east was under the control of some Bodo tribes. Further west was a Kachārī kingdom lying south of the Brahmaputra and extending probably half way across the Nowgong district. West of the Chutiyas on the north bank and of the Kachārīs on the south, were the domains of some petty chiefs called Bhuiyās. To the extreme west was situated the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, the western boundary of which was marked by the river Karatoyā and the eastern boundary varied according to the position of its hostile neighbours. It was known as the kingdom of Kāmata. The Āhoms, a section of the great Shān tribe, had appeared as a new element in the history of the Brahmaputra valley early in the thirteenth century, and checked the eastern expansion of the Kāmata kingdom, while its western neighbours, the Muslim Sultāns of Bengal, led several invasions into its territories with varying results.

Early in the fifteenth century a strong monarchy was established in Kāmata by the Khens with their capital at Kāmatāpur, a few miles to the south of Cooch Behār. The Khens ruled over Kāmata for about seventy-five years and their last ruler, Nilāmbar, was overthrown by 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh in about A.D. 1498. After a short period of confusion, Biswa Simha, of the Koch tribe, which was Mongoloid in origin, established a powerful kingdom with Koch Bihār, modern Cooch Bihār, as his capital, about A.D. 1515. The greatest ruler of this line was Biswa Simha's son and successor, Nara Nārāyan, during whose reign the kingdom of Kāmata grew in prosperity, and reached the zenith of its power. But in 1581 he was compelled to cede the portions of his kingdom to the east of the river Sankosh to his nephew, Raghu Dev. Thus the Koch kingdom was divided into two rival principalities, called Koch Bihār and Koch Hājo by the Muslims. Their feuds drew the intervention of the Āhoms and the Muslims, and in 1639 the western and the eastern States fell under the supremacy of the Muslims and the Āhoms respectively.

The Āhoms, a section of the Shān tribe, who appeared in Assam in about A.D. 1215, gradually consolidated their position and established a strong monarchy which lasted for six centuries. During the period under review they checked the eastward expansion of the kings of Kāmarūpa and the Sultāns of Bengal. The kingdom of the Āhoms became vulnerable to Muslim attacks only after the latter had subjugated Kāmarūpa. Thus 'Alā-u-dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal led an expedition into Assam when it was ruled by Suhenpha. In spite of the initial success of Muslim arms, this expedition had a disastrous end. There was no Āhom-Muslim conflict for more than thirty years, till the second phase of it began when invasions into Assam were conducted by some local Muhammadan chieftains of Bengal. But their attempts also failed by September, 1533. Thus the attempt of the Muslims of Bengal to conquer Assam ended in failure by the thirties of the sixteenth century. The history of Assam after this period will be treated in its proper place.

Nepāl

By the year A.D. 879 Nepāl possibly threw off the Tibetan yoke and came to have an independent history of its own. For two hundred years after this we know little about the kings ruling in Nepāl, but from the eleventh century Nepāl flourished under the Thākurīs. For more than two hundred years (1097–1326), the Karnātaka king Nānyadeva of Mithila and his successors claimed, from their capital at Simrāon, a sort of loose sovereignty over the local princes of Nepāl. In A.D. 1324, Harisimha of Tirhut, a descendant of Nānyadeva, invaded Nepāl, the reigning king of which, Jayarudramalla, submitted to him. With his headquarters at Bhatgāon, Harisimha gradually extended his power over the whole valley, and his kingdom had diplomatic relations with China in the fourteenth century. But at the same time Harisimha and his descendants "left undisturbed the local rulers, who acknowledged their hegemony, in the possession of the two other capitals, viz., Patan and Katmandu". In 1376 Jaya-Sthitimalla, grandson-in-law of the Malla king, Jayarudra (1320–1326), and son-in-law of Jagatsimha, a prince of the Karnātaka line of Harisimha, who had married Jayarudra's daughter, Nāyakadevī, seized the throne of the Mallas and established his authority over practically the whole of Nepāl. It was henceforth ruled by his descendants "in regular succession". He had three sons—Dharmamalla, Jyotirmalla and Kīrtimalla. They kept the kingdom undivided. By A.D. 1418 Harisimha's descendants lost their authority in Nepāl, and Jyotirmalla tried to exercise imperial

power. About A.D. 1426 Jyotirmalla was succeeded by his eldest son, Yakshamalla, who ruled for about half a century and was the greatest of the Malla rulers of Nepāl. But he committed a mistake before his death, between A.D. 1474 and 1476, in partitioning the kingdom among his sons and daughters. This led to the rise of the two rival principalities of Katmandu and Bhatgaōn, whose quarrels ultimately led to the conquest of Nepāl by the Gurkhās in A.D. 1768.

CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE TURKO-AFGHĀNS IN INDIA, AND MORAL AS WELL AS MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTRY DURING THEIR RULE

1. The Turko-Afghān Government

A. The Central Government

THE Muslim State in India was a theocracy, the existence of which was theoretically justified by the needs of religion. The Sultān was considered to be Cæsar and Pope combined in one. In theory, indeed, his authority in religious matters was limited by the Holy Law of the Quran, and with the exception of 'Alā-ud-dīn, no Sultān could clearly divorce religion from politics. But in practice, the Muslim Sultān of India was a perfect autocrat, unchecked by any restrictions; and his word was law. The Sultāns at times paid, with two short breaks, only ceremonial allegiance to the Khalifahs of Baghdād and Egypt, but did not owe their power to them nor to the will of the people, though the Islamic theory of sovereignty was constitutional and democratic in character. In fact, the Muslim State in India was, to all intents and purposes, independent and autonomous, the Sultān being the mainspring of the entire system of administration. The real source of the Sultān's authority was military strength, and this was understood and acquiesced in, not merely by the unthinking rabble but also by the soldiers, the poets (e.g. Amīr Khusrav) and the *Ulemas* of the age. As the supreme head of the executive, the Sultān transacted the affairs of the State with the help of such officers and ministers as he might choose to select. The State being essentially military in character, the Sultān was the chief commander of forces; he was also the chief law-giver and the final court of appeal.

The autocracy of the Muslim Sultāns of India was the inevitable result of the then circumstances. They had to be constantly on their guard against the hostility of the Hindu States, the Hindu fighting communities and the Mongol invaders. This required a strong centralised government, which gradually made itself despotic. Further, there was no hereditary Muslim aristocracy, conscious of

its own rights and privileges and eager to assert these against royal despotism, although occasionally some nobles made their influence felt. There were also no popular assemblies, keen about constitutional liberty, and no strong public opinion, competent enough to oppose autocracy. Even the *Ulemas*, who exercised much influence in the State, had not the courage to openly oppose the Sultāns and depose an undesirable ruler in the same manner as Hildebrand deposed Henry IV. Succession to the Sultānate of Delhi was not determined by any recognised law, nor was there any definite principle. "Broadly speaking, the choice was limited, as a matter of convenience, to the surviving members of the deceased Sultān's family. The priority of birth, the question of efficiency, the nomination of the dead king—these considerations sometimes received some attention, but the decisive voice seems to have been that of the nobles, who usually preferred personal convenience to the interests of the State."

Even the most autocratic ruler cannot manage the task of administration single-handed. Thus the Sultāns of Delhi had to devise, from the beginning of their rule, an administrative machinery with a regular hierarchy of officers in charge of various departments, who, however, did not in any way check their authority but rather carried out their respective duties according to the former's orders. The Sultāns had a council of friends and trusted officers called the *Majlis-i-Khalwat*, which they consulted when important affairs of State demanded attention. The councillors might express their opinions, which at times had some influence on the administration; but these were not binding on the Sultān. The Sultān received all courtiers, *Khāns*, *Maliks*, and *Amīrs*, in a court called *Bār-i-Khās*. He sat as the supreme judge in the *Bār-i-Ām*, where he tried cases, received petitions of the people and heard their complaints. The highest officer in the Central Government was the Wazīr, who had control over the other departments of the State,—such as the *Diwān-i-Risālat* or the Department of Appeals, the *Diwān-i-Arz* or the Military Department, the *Diwān-i-Inshā* or the Correspondence Department, the *Diwān-i-Bandagān* or the Department of Slaves, the *Diwān-i-Qazā-i-Mamālik* or the Department of Justice, Intelligence and Posts, the *Diwān-i-Amīr Kohi* or the Department of Agriculture (created by Muhammad bin Tughluq), the *Diwān-i-Mustakhraj* or the Department to look after and realise arrears from collectors or agents (created by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji), *Diwān-i Khairāt* or the Department of Charity (in Fīrūz Shāh's reign), *Diwān-i Istihqāq* or the Department of Pensions,—and also over the Mint, the charitable institutions and the *Kārkhānās*. Besides the high officers in charge of the various departments, there were other

subordinate officers like the *Mustaufi-i Mamālik* or the Auditor General, whose duty was to check the expenditure of the State; the *Mushrif-i Mamālik*, who was in charge of the accounts of receipts; the *Majmudār*, who preserved the records of loans advanced by government; the *Khāzin* or the Treasurer; the *Amīr-i Behr* or the Controller of Boats; the *Bakhshi-i-Fauj* or Paymaster of the Forces, and others. The *Nāib-i-Wazīr-i-Mamālik* or the Deputy Wazīr did not enjoy a very high status. The Tughluq period was "the heyday of the Wazīrat in Muslim India", and from the days of the later Tughluqs the powers of the Wazīr grew enormously. But these began to decline in the time of the Sayyids and the office of the Wazīr became obscure under the Afghāns.

Justice was usually administered by the *Qāzī-ul-Qazāt*, or the Lord Chief Justice, who was aided by *Muftīs* to expound the law, which was based on the injunctions of the Quran, though rulers like 'Alā-ud-dīn and Muhammad bin Tughluq were guided by considerations of policy. The penal law was excessively severe, the penalties of mutilation and death being usually inflicted on the culprits. Force and torture were employed to extort confession. The judicial procedure does not seem to have been very regular. Cases were started without due enquiries and, on most occasions, received summary trials. The law of debt, as we know from Marco Polo, was severe; and the creditors often invoked royal assistance to realise their dues from the debtors. The *Kotwāl* was the custodian of peace and order; and another officer of the municipal police was the *Muhtasib*, whose duties were to keep a strict watch over the conduct of the people, to control the markets and to regulate weights and measures. The Sultān kept himself informed of the movements of the people through a large number of spies. The old forts and castles were utilised as prisons. The prison "regulations were lax, and corruption prevailed among the officers".

The fiscal policy of the Turkish Sultāns of India was modelled on the theory of finance of the Hanafī school of Muslim Jurists, which the former borrowed from the Ghaznavids whom they had supplanted. Thus the principal sources of revenue of the Delhi Sultānate were the *Kharāj* or land tax from the Hindu chiefs and landlords; land revenue obtained from the *Khālsā* or crown-lands, *iqtā's* or lands granted to followers and officers (usually military) for certain years or for the lifetime of the grantee, who was known as the *Muqta*, and other classes of lands; *Khams* or one-fifth of the spoils of war; and religious tax. Besides these, *abwābs* or cesses and other kinds of taxes like the house tax, grazing tax, water tax, etc., were levied on the people. The State also derived

some income from trade duties. The *jizya* was originally a sort of tax levied on the non-Muslims "in return for which they received protection of life and property and exemption from military service". But in course of time, a religious motive was attached to it, and in India it was the only extra burden which the Hindus had to bear. Taxes were paid both in cash and kind. We have already given the important points regarding the revenue reforms of the Khaljīs and the Tughluqs. It may be noted here that the revenue policy of the State, and the satisfactory working or otherwise of the revenue department, varied according to the personality of the rulers. While no important changes in revenue administration are recorded to have been effected by Iltutmish, and only a few attempts were made by Balban to make it orderly, 'Alā-ud-dīn's revenue policy was comprehensive, affecting all types of land tenures, and Muhammad bin Tughluq's vigorous but ill-advised revenue policy also deeply influenced the condition of the State. The rate of assessment also varied, being excessively high since the time of 'Alā-ud-dīn, who charged 50 per cent on the gross produce of the land. In spite of his general leniency, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq does not seem to have reduced the scale as fixed by 'Alā-ud-dīn, and in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq it was certainly not lower, if not higher, than this. The farming system was prevalent, and its lavish extension in the time of Fīrūz Shāh proved to be detrimental to the integrity of the State.

The standing army of the Sultānate consisted of the royal bodyguard, and the troops of the capital, which were, in times of need, reinforced by the levies sent by the provincial viceroys and the *Muqtas*, and the contingents of Hindu troops. Men of different nationalities, such as Turks, Khataians, Persians and Indians, were enlisted in the army. The main branches of the army were the infantry, including numerous archers, the cavalry, and the elephants. There was nothing like artillery, which came to be used effectively in later times; but rockets and naphtha balls, and a machine discharging balls by the force of gunpowder, were used, though not with much effect, as early as the reign of Iltutmish. Further, a sort of mechanical artillery, consisting of various crude machines, like *manjaniqs*, *mangonels*, *mangons*, through which fire-balls, fire-arrows, pieces of rock, stones, earthen or iron balls, bottles full of naphtha, and scorpions and other poisonous reptiles, could be hurled against the enemy, were used in siege-craft in medieval India.

The Turkish Sultāns of Delhi maintained a court,—though not so splendid as that of the Great Mughuls,—through which their majesty found expression. Harems, full of the wives and concubines of the Sultāns and princes of the royal blood, were kept in

the apartments of the royal palace. Culture of a rather limited type was patronised in these courts, but their maintenance must have caused a heavy drain on the economic resources of the country.

B. *Administration of the Provinces*

The direct influence of the Sultān was limited to the area within striking distance of his forts and outposts, and the distant provinces were placed in the charge of viceroys, who were called Nāib Sultāns. The number of provinces varied from twenty to twenty-five. A province was subdivided into smaller portions, which were in the charge of *Muqtas* or of *Āmils*; and there were further smaller units under *Shiqdārs*, whose jurisdiction did not extend over more than a few miles. Each province was "a replica of the Empire", and the Nāib Sultān exercised executive, judicial, and military functions in his territory almost as a despot, subject only to the control of the central government, which varied according to the strength or weakness of the latter. Muhammad bin Tughluq's failure to control the provinces encouraged his viceroys to declare independence. The viceroy was paid from the revenue of his province, and after meeting the cost of his administration he had to remit the surplus to the central exchequer. He maintained a local militia and had to render military aid, at times, to the Sultān. Thus his position was somewhat like that of a feudal baron of medieval Europe. The intrigues of the nobles, and lack of co-operation among the officers, usually hampered the good working of the provincial government; and consequently peace and order were not perfectly maintained. Besides the imperial provinces, large tracts of land had of necessity to be left in the hands of old Hindu chieftains, who were not interfered with in ruling their ancestral territories so long as they sent tributes and presents to Delhi. The village communities continued unaffected by the establishment of a new government in the country.

C. *The Muslim Nobility*

The nobility exercised a predominant influence in the State as generals, administrators and sometimes as king-makers. But it was not a hereditary, homogeneous and well-organised body as was the case with the nobles of France or of England. Though the Turks formed the majority in this class, there were in it also men of other nationalities, like Arabs, Afghāns, Abyssinians, Egyptians, people of Java, and Indians. Such a heterogeneous class could hardly be expected to work with a common aim or principle and offer a healthy check to royal absolutism. Naturally the nobles

often occupied themselves with their mutual rivalries and pursued selfish interests at the cost of the welfare of the State. "The nobility," remarks a modern writer, "was nothing more than a mere agglomeration of disintegrating atoms," which failed to "evolve a workable constitution for the country." The State might have derived some benefit from its aristocracy, but it suffered more from a gross caricature of debased feudalism, which was largely responsible for its dismemberment.

The Turko-Afghān machinery of administration, briefly outlined above, lacked the force of habit, derived from tradition, and of will, derived from national support, both of which are necessary for the security and long tenure of a government. Its military and feudal character, which was the inevitable result of the circumstances under which it grew, was opposed to the traditional ancient government of the land, though the medieval Rājput States might have afforded a parallel to it. By the nature of its growth, it could seldom be established on the goodwill and support of the people. As a matter of fact, a tie of mutual attachment between the rulers and the masses of the people was in many cases absent. The State grew on military strength, its rulers were, in most cases, concerned with measures calculated to strengthen their own authority; and its aristocracy, without any consistent policy, pursued selfish interests. Its collapse was inevitable when the Sultāns failed to command adequate force and the aristocracy grew more ambitious and turbulent.

2. Economic and Social Conditions

A. Economic

It is not easy to form an accurate idea of the economic condition of the vast numbers of the people of India, during the three centuries of Turko-Afghān rule. Some attempts have, however, been made recently to arrive at the facts of the matter by collecting incidental references from chronicles, the works of Amīr Khusrav, folklore and fiction, poetry and ballads, the writings of Hindu as well as Muslim mystics, works on practical arts and treatises on law and ethics, the accounts left by foreign travellers, and some official and private correspondence. The country was then famous for her untold wealth. We know from Ferishta how Mahmūd of Ghaznī carried off a vast booty, and it is striking that even after the thoughtless extravagance of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and the chronic disorders of the later Tughluq period, Tīmūr captured an enormous booty in Delhi. But the State did not pursue any comprehensive economic policy aiming at the improvement of the

condition of the people; and the few experiments of the Khaljīs or the Tughluqs did not produce permanent results. "On the whole," remarks a modern Muslim writer, "any big improvement in the method of production, a more equitable distribution of the economic wealth, or a better adjustment of the economic position of the various social classes, was outside the policy of the State."

India had, however, traditions of industrial organisation, through the guilds and crafts of the village communities and of the urban areas, and of widespread commerce, internal as well as external, which survived the shocks of political revolutions in spite of the absence of State guidance and support during the period under review. The Sultāns of Delhi, or, in later times, some of the minor provincial rulers, encouraged industries and trade only for their own political and administrative needs. Thus the royal *kārkhānās* or manufactories at Delhi sometimes employed 4,000 weavers of silk besides manufacturers of other stuffs to satisfy royal demands. There were no factories or large-scale industrial organisations such as we have to-day. In most cases the manufacturers dealt directly with the traders, though occasionally they disposed of their goods at fairs, and again sometimes a number of them were employed by some enterprising business men to manufacture goods under their supervision. Though agriculture formed the occupation of the bulk of the people, there were some important industries in the urban as well as rural areas of the country. These were the textile industry, including the manufacture of cotton cloth, woollen cloth and silks, the dyeing industry and calico-painting, the sugar industry, metal-work, stone and brick work, and the paper industry. The minor industries were cup-making, shoe-making, making of arms, especially bows and arrows, manufacture of scents, spirits and liquors, etc. Bengal and Gujarāt were especially renowned for the manufacture and export of textile goods. The excellence of Bengal goods has been highly praised by Amīr Khusrav, and foreign travellers, like Mauhan, who visited Bengal in A.D. 1406, Barthema, who came to India during the early part of the sixteenth century (1503–1508), and Barbosa, who came here about A.D. 1518.

The volume of India's internal trade during this period "was large except when thwarted by the monopoly of the State or rigid administrative control". Her commercial relations with the outside world also deserve notice. The sea-route connected her commercially with the distant regions of Europe, the Malay Islands and China, and other countries on the Pacific Ocean; and she had intercourse through land routes with Central Asia, Afghānistān, Persia, Tibet and Bhutān. The author of *Masālik-ul-absār* writes:

"Merchants of all countries never cease to carry pure gold into India, and to bring back in exchange commodities of herbs and gums." The chief imports were articles of luxury for the richer classes and horses and mules; and the principal exports consisted of varieties of agricultural goods, and textile manufactures, the minor ones being tutenag, opium, indigo-cakes, etc. Some countries round the Persian Gulf were entirely dependent on India for their food supply. The ports of Bengal and Gujarāt were then chiefly used for India's export trade. Barthema considered Bengal to be "the richest country in the world for cotton, ginger, sugar, grain and flesh of every kind".

The prices of goods were not uniform throughout the period. These were abnormally high in times of famine and scarcity, but very low in times of overproduction. Thus, owing to severe famines during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the price of corn rose to 16 and 17 *jitals* per seer and many people died of starvation. After Fīrūz Shāh's second attack on Sind, with the consequent scarcity in that province, the price of corn rose to 8 and 10 *jitals* per 5 seers, and of pulses to 4 and 5 *tankās* per maund, or 6.4 and 8 *jitals* per seer respectively. The reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī was again a period of exceptionally low prices. A man could then buy 10 maunds of corn, 5 seers of oil and 10 yards of coarse cloth for one *Buhlūlī* which was equivalent to 1.6 *jital* in value. The prices during 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign have been considered as normal. These were (calculating per maund)—wheat 7½ *jitals*, barley 4 *jitals*, paddy or rice 5 *jitals*, pulses 5 *jitals*, lentils 3 *jitals*, sugar (white) 100 *jitals*, sugar (soft) 60 *jitals*, mutton 10 *jitals*, and ghee (clarified butter) 16 *jitals*; muslins of Delhi cost 17 *tankās*[1] a piece, of 'Āligarh 6 *tankās*; and blankets of coarse stuff cost 6 *jitals* and those of finer quality 36 *jitals*[2] for each piece. Comparing

[1] The purchasing power of a *tankā* was about twelve times that of the present rupee.

[2] Comparative prices in the reigns of 'Alā-ud-dīn, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Fīrūz Shāh:

Commodities	'Alā-ud-dīn	Muhammad bin Tughluq	Fīrūz Shāh
	(prices in *jitals* per maund)		
Wheat	7½	12	8
Barley	4	8	4
Paddy	5	14	x
Pulses	5	x	
Lentils	3	4	4
Sugar (white)	100	80	x
Sugar (soft)	60	64	120, 140
Mutton	10	64	x
Ghee	16	x	100

(*J.A.S.B.*, 1935, Vol. I, Letters No. 2, p. 235.)

the prices of goods in the reigns of 'Alā-ud-dīn, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Fīrūz Shāh, we find that, generally speaking, these rose during the reign of the second Sultān but again went down almost to the previous level of 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. On the whole, food and goods were cheap in the Doāb area as well as in the provinces. Ibn Batūtah observes that he had nowhere seen "a country where the commodities sell cheaper" than in Bengal; eight *dirhams* were sufficient here for the annual expenses of a family of three. But we have no means of estimating the average income or cost of living of an Indian of those days. We should not, moreover, fail to note that the country, especially Bengal, suffered from an exceptional scarcity of money. It is, therefore, rather difficult to determine how far the people were benefited by the low prices of commodities then prevailing.

As regards the standard of living of the different classes of the society, the difference between that of the wealthier classes and of the peasants was "almost antipodal". While the ruling and official classes rolled in opulence and luxury, the tillers of the soil had a very low standard of living. The incidence of taxation must have weighed heavily on them, and their condition became miserable in times of famine, when no adequate relief measures could be provided. Amīr Khusrav significantly remarks that "every pearl in the royal crown is but the crystallised drop of blood fallen from the tearful eyes of the poor peasant". Bābur, who was struck with the scanty requirements of the Indian rural folk, writes: "People disappear completely where they have been living for many years in about a day and a half." Thus the peasants of Medieval India do not seem to have been much better off than their descendants of modern times. But, judged by standards of to-day, they had fewer needs. The villages being economically self-sufficient, the simple requirements of the rural population were supplied locally to their satisfaction. Further, in spite of political revolutions and intrigues at the metropolis, the villagers pursued their ordinary occupations of life with the utmost unconcern. Court politics seldom disturbed the even tenor of village life.

B. Social Life

It was a common practice with the Sultāns and the nobles to maintain slaves, male as well as female. The number of royal slaves (*Bandagān-i-khās*) was usually large. 'Alā-ud-dīn had 50,000 slaves and their number rose to 200,000 under Fīrūz Shāh. Much care was taken of them by their masters, as they formed a

useful source of service and sometimes of pecuniary gain. The Sultāns usually manumitted their slaves after some time, and some of the slaves rose to political and social eminence by dint of their merit and ability. Besides a large number of Indian slaves, of whom the Assam slaves were most liked because of their strong physique, male as well as female slaves were imported from other countries like China, Turkestān, and Persia. The prices of slaves fluctuated according to the courses of wars and famines. The institution of slavery might have served certain purposes for the rulers and the nobles; but at the same time it could not but produce some baneful social consequences. In fact, it was a "stamp of unprogressiveness" and an unhealthy feature of social life.

Dependence of women on their husbands, or other male relatives, was a prominent feature of social life among the Hindus as well as the Muslims. But they enjoyed a position of respect and were expected to observe strict fidelity in their conjugal life. They generally lived in seclusion in the sphere of their homes; and the *Purdah* system became more elaborate, both among the Hindus and the Muslims, except in some coastal towns in Gujarāt, owing chiefly to the general sense of insecurity of the period caused by inroads of foreign invaders, especially the Mongols. The culture of the women varied according to the classes to which they belonged. While the ordinary village women remained absorbed in their domestic duties, some belonging to the upper class cultivated arts and sciences. Rupamatī and Padmāvatī are good examples of educated ladies. Both boys and girls were married at an early age. The practice of *Satī*, or a wife burning herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, was widely prevalent among certain classes. According to Ibn Batūtah, a sort of permit had to be procured from the Sultān of Delhi before the burning of a widow. Though the general standard of social life was high, being marked by charity and other virtues, there were a few vices connected with the passion for wine and women.

3. Literature, Art and Architecture

A. Effect of the Impact of the Indian and the Islamic Civilisations

So immense was the assimilative potentiality of the old Indian civilisation that the earlier invaders of this country, the Greeks, the Sakas and the Huns, were absorbed within the fold of her population and completely lost their identity. But it did not

happen so with the Turko-Afghān invaders of India. In the wake of Muslim invasions, definite social and religious ideas, which differed fundamentally from those of Hindustān, entered into this country and a perfect absorption of the invaders by the original inhabitants could not be possible. The political relations between the new-comers and the indigenous people were sometimes characterised by bitter strife. But whenever two types of civilisation come into close contact with each other for centuries, both are bound to be influenced mutually. Thus, through long association, the growth of the numbers of the converted Indo-Muslim community, and the influence of several liberal movements in India, the Hindu and Muslim communities came to imbibe each other's thoughts and customs; and, beneath the ruffled surface of storm and stress, there flowed a genial current of mutual harmony and toleration in different spheres of life. As a matter of fact, both Hindus and Muslims had mutual admiration for each other's culture, since the early days of the advent of Islam into India, and one of the sources of Muslim mysticism was Indian. Famous Muslim scholars and saints lived and laboured in India during the Medieval period, and they helped the dissemination of the ideas of Islamic philosophy and mysticism in this land. The wholesome spirit of mutual toleration found expression in the growing veneration of the Hindus for the Muslim saints, particularly of the mystic school, and a corresponding Muhammadan practice of venerating Hindu saints; and it ultimately led to the common worship of *Satyapīr* (the True saint). It was probably due to this feeling of friendliness that conversion of the Muslims into the Hindu fold, and reconversion of the Hindus to their original faith, could be possible during this period and later on. It was out of the desire for mutual understanding that Hindu (Sanskrit) religious literature was studied and translated or summarised in the Muslim courts like those of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn in Kāshmīr and Husain Shāh in Bengal. Further, Muslim courts and Muslim preachers and saints were attracted to the study of Hindu philosophy like Yoga and Vedānta and the sciences of medicine and astrology. The Hindu astronomers similarly borrowed from the Muslims technical terms, the Muslim calculations of latitudes and longitudes, some items of the calendar (*Zich*) and a branch of horoscopy called *Tājik*, and in medicine the knowledge of metallic acids and some processes in iatro-chemistry. The growth of Urdu, of the mingling "out of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish words and ideas with languages and concepts of Sanskritic origin, is a proof of the linguistic synthesis of the Hindus and the Muslims". Some Muslims wrote in vernaculars

on topics of Hindu life and tradition, as Malik Muhammad Jayasī did on Padminī; and Hindu writers wrote in the Persian language on Muslim literary traditions, as Rāi Bhana Mal did in his chronicles. Numerous Muslim poets wrote in Hindī and Hindu poets in Urdu. Amīr Khusrav is known to have been the author of some Hindī works. This assimilation between the two cultures led also to the springing up of new styles of art, architecture and music, "in which the basic element remained the old Hindu, but the finish and outward form became Persian and the purpose served was that of Muslim courts". Some Muslims of aristocratic Hindu origin, or living in a Hindu environment, assimilated the Hindu customs of *Satī* and *Jauhar*. Several intermarriages between the ruling members of the two communities helped this rapprochement and some again were the result of it. These inter-communal marriages, though sometimes tainted with compulsion as a condition of conquest, did much "to soften the acrimonious differences" between the two communities and assist the transplanting of the customs of the one to the fold of the other.

The spirit of harmony and co-operation was not absent in the political field also. Besides retaining, out of necessity, the existing machinery of local administration, the Hindu headmen and accountants of the villages, the Muslim State employed a large number of Hindus, who became prominent in different branches of administration. Thus Medinī Rāi of Chanderī and his friends held high positions in Mālwa; in Bengal, Husain Shāh employed Hindu officers, most prominent amongst whom were Purandar Khān, Rup and Sanātan; the Sultāns of Golkundā employed some Hindus as ministers; Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur entrusted the Hindus with offices of responsibility and the records of his State were ordinarily kept in the Marāthī language. Sultān Zain-'u -'Ābidīn of Kāshmīr anticipated Akbar in his pro-Hindu and liberal policy. The Muslim subjects of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur described him as "*Jagadguru*" for his patronage of the Hindus in his State. Examples of Rājput chivalry towards the Muslims are not rare. Thus the Rājput hero, Rānā Sanga, was chivalrous enough to respect the independence of his vanquished foe, Mahmūd II of Mālwa; Qutlugh Khān after being defeated by Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn took refuge with Rānā Ban Pal of Santur; and it is well known how Hamīr Deva of Ranthambhor gave shelter to a rebel chief of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī at the risk of incurring the Sultān's wrath. Even the Vijayanagar Emperors employed Muslims in their military service from the time of Deva Rāya II, and patronised "the cause of Islam in and outside their great

capital". A famous Muslim general, Asad Khān of Bijāpur, was once invited to Vijayanagar to witness the Mahānavamī festival. Rānā Sanga had a contingent of Muslim troops under him in his war with Bābur, and Hīmū, a Hindu Beniā, who rose to be the chief minister of 'Ādil Shāh Sūr, was the commander and leader of the Afghān troops in their last important fight with the Mughuls in A.D. 1556. These official appointments might have been due more to political necessity than to any feeling of goodwill. But there can be no doubt that they facilitated the growth of amity between the Hindus and Muslims. In fact, in different aspects of life—arts and crafts, music and painting, in the styles of buildings, in dress and costume, in games and sports—this assimilation between the two communities had progressed so much that when Bābur came to India he was compelled to notice their peculiar "Hindustānī way". Sir John Marshall has very aptly remarked that "seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilisations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive. . . ."

Hinduism could not completely absorb Islam but was in turn influenced by it in two ways. On the one hand, the proselytising zeal of Islam strengthened conservatism in the orthodox circles of the Hindus, who, with a view to fortifying their position against the spread of the Islamic faith, increased the stringency of the caste rules and formulated a number of rules in the *Smriti* works. The most famous writers of this class were Mādhava of Vijayanagar, whose commentary on a *Parāsara Smriti* work entitled *Kālanirnaya* was written between A.D. 1335–1360; Viśveśvara, author of *Madanapārijāta*, a *Smriti* work written for King Madanapāla (A.D. 1360–1370); the famous commentator of Manu, Kulluka, a Bengali author belonging to the Benares school by domicile; and Raghunandan of Bengal, a contemporary of Chaitanya. On the other hand, some of the democratic principles of Islam made their way into the social and religious systems of the Hindus, and led to the rise of liberal movements under some saintly preachers. With some differences in details, all these reformers were exponents of the liberal *Bhakti* cult, the message of which they sought to carry before the unlettered masses. They preached the fundamental equality of all religions and the unity of Godhead, held that the dignity of man depended on his actions and not on his birth, protested against excessive ritualism and formalities of religion and

domination of the priests, and emphasised simple devotion and faith as the means of salvation for one and all.

Among them, Rāmānanda occupies the first place in point of time, though it should be noted that there are differences of opinion regarding the dates of his birth and death. Born at Allahābād in a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa family, Rāmānanda travelled through the holy places of Northern India. He was a worshipper of Rāma and preached the doctrine of *Bhakṭi* in Hindī, to members of all classes and both sexes. Thus, of his twelve principal disciples,[1] one was a barber, another a cobbler and the third a Muhammadan weaver.

Another famous Vaishṇava saint was Vallabhāchārya, an exponent of the Kṛishṇa cult. He was born near Benares in A.D. 1479 of a Telugu Brāhmaṇa family, when the latter had come there on pilgrimage. He showed signs of genius in his early life. After finishing his education he went to the court of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar, where he defeated some Saiva *paṇdits* in a public discussion. He advocated renunciation of the world and "insisted on the complete identity of both soul and world with the Supreme spirit". His monism was known as *Suddha-advaita* or "Pure Non-Duality". But abuses later on appeared among the followers of Vallabhāchārya, and, as Monier-Williams writes, "Vallabhāchāryaism became in its degenerate form the Epicureanism of the East".

The greatest and most popular of the Vaishṇava saints was Chaitanya (1485–1533). Born in a learned Brāhmaṇa family of Nadiā in Bengal in A.D. 1485, Chaitanya displayed a wonderful literary acumen in his early life and his soul soon aspired to rise above the fetters of this world. He renounced it at the age of twenty-four and spent the rest of his life in preaching his message of love and devotion—eighteen years in Orissa, and six years in the Deccan, Brindāvan, Gaur and other places. He is regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Vishṇu. The essence of Chaitanyaism has been thus expressed by Kṛishṇadās Kavirāj, the author of *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*, the famous biography of Chaitanya: "if a creature adores Kṛishṇa and serves his *Guru*, he is released from the meshes of illusion and attains to Kṛishṇa's feet", and "leaving these (i.e. temptations) and the religious systems based on caste, (the true Vaishṇava) helplessly takes refuge with Kṛishṇa". Thus he was opposed to priestly ritualism and preached faith in Hari. He believed that through love and

[1] Anantānanda, Kabīr, Pīpā, Bhavānanda, Sukha, Sursura, Padmāvatī, Narhari, Raidāsa, Dhana, Saina and the wife of Sursura.

devotion, and song and dance, a state of ecstasy could be produced in which the personal presence of God would be realised. His gospel was meant for all, irrespective of caste and creed, and some of his disciples were drawn from the lower strata of Hindu society and from among Muslims. The influence of Chaitanya's teachings on the masses of the people has been wide and profound.

In Mahārāshtra the religion of devotion was preached by Nāmadeva; and among his followers a few were Muslim converts to Hinduism. Nāmadeva, who belonged to a caste of tailors or calico-printers, flourished probably during the first half of the fifteenth century.[1] With his faith in the unity of Godhead, he did not set much store by idol-worship and external observances of religion. He believed that salvation could be attained only through love of God. Thus he said:

> "Love for him who filleth my heart shall never be sundered;
> Nāma has applied his heart to the true Name.
> As the love between a child and his mother,
> So is my soul imbued in the God."

Kabīr made the most earnest efforts to foster a spirit of harmony between Hinduism and Islam. His life is shrouded in a good deal of obscurity, and the dates of his birth and death are uncertain.[2] He flourished either towards the close of the fourteenth century or in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. A legend tells us that he was born of a Brāhmaṇa widow, who left him on the side of a tank in Benares, and was then found and brought up by a Muhammadan weaver and his wife. He is represented by tradition to have been a disciple of Rāmānanda. Though, as Dr. Carpenter puts it, "the whole background of Kabīr's thought is Hindu", he was also influenced to a great extent by Sūfī saints and poets with whom he came in contact. Thus he preached a religion of love, which would promote unity amongst all classes and creeds. To him "Hindu and Turk were pots of same clay: Allah and Rāma were but different names". He wrote:

[1] There are differences of opinion about the date of his birth. According to Macauliffe (*The Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 18) it is A.D. 1270; Dr. Bhandarkar (*Vaishnavism and Saivaism*, p. 89) and Carpenter (*Theism in Medieval India*, p. 452) place him in the fourteenth century. Dr. Farquhar, however, writes that he flourished "from 1400 to 1430 or thereabouts" (*J.R.A.S.*, 1920, p. 186).

[2] For different opinions, *vide* Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Civilisation*, pp. 146–7. According to Macauliffe and Bhandarkar, A.D. 1398, but according to Westcott, Farquhar, Burns and others A.D. 1440 is the date of his birth.

"It is needless to ask of a saint the caste to which he belongs;

. . . . .

The barber has sought God, the washerman and the carpenter—
Even Raidas was a seeker after God.
The Rishi Swapacha was a tanner by caste.
Hindus and Moslems alike have achieved that
End, where remains no mark of distinction."

Kabīr did not believe in the efficacy of ritual, or external formalities, either of Hinduism or of Islam; to him the true means of salvation was *Bhajan* or devotional worship, together with the freedom of the soul from all sham, insincerity, hypocrisy and cruelty.

Thus he proclaimed:

"It is not by fasting and repeating prayers and the creed
That one goeth to heaven;
The inner veil of the temple of Mecca
Is in man's heart, if the truth be known.
Make thy mind thy Kaaba, thy body its enclosing temple,
Conscience its prime teacher;
Sacrifice wrath, doubt, and malice;
Make patience thine utterance of the five prayers.
The Hindus and the Mussalmans have the same Lord."

Another great preacher of the time was Nānak, the founder of Sikhism and the reviver of the pure monotheistic doctrine of the Upanishads. He was born in a Khatri family of Talwāndī (modern Nankana), about thirty-five miles to the south-west of the city of Lahore, in A.D. 1469, and spent his whole life in preaching his gospel of universal toleration, based on all that was good in Hinduism and Islam. As a matter of fact, his mission was to put an end to the conflict of religions. Like Kabīr, he preached the unity of Godhead, condemned with vehemence the formalism of both Hinduism and Islam. Thus he wrote:

"Religion consisteth not in mere words;
He who looketh on all men as equal is religious.
Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation.
Religion consisteth not in wandering in foreign countries, or in bathing at places of pilgrimage.
Abide pure amidst the impurities of the world;
Thus shalt thou find the way to religion."

While advocating a middle path between extreme asceticism and pleasure-seeking, Nānak exhorted his followers to discard hypocrisy, selfishness and falsehood. He proclaimed:

> "Make continence thy furnace, resignation thy goldsmith,
> Understanding thine anvil, divine knowledge thy tools,
> The fear of God thy bellows, austerities thy fire,
> Divine love thy crucible, and melt God's name therein.
> In such a true mint the Word shall be coined.
> This is the practice of those on whom God looked with an eye of favour."

Nānak's religion being a proselytising one, several Muslims were converted to it, and it gathered momentum under his successors.

B. Development of Provincial Literature

Besides producing far-reaching social and religious effects, the reform movements also gave a great impetus to the development of Indian literature in different parts of India. While the orthodox scholars continued to write in Sanskrit, the religious reformers, with their aim of preaching before the uneducated masses, wrote and spoke in a medium which could be easily understood by them. Thus Rāmānanda and Kabīr preached in Hindī and did much to enrich its poetry; and the *dohās* and *sakhīs* of Kabīr, permeated with devotional fervour, are brilliant specimens of Hindī literature. Nāmadeva greatly helped the development of Marāthī literature; Mīrā Bāī and some other preachers of the Rādha-Kṛishṇa cult sang in *Brajabhāshā;* Nānak and his disciples encouraged Punjābī and Gurumukhī; and Bengali literature owes a heavy debt to the Vaishṇava teachers. The famous Vaishṇava poet Chandīdās, who was born, probably towards the end of the fourteenth century, in the village of Nānnūr in the Bīrbhūm district of Bengal, is still held in great esteem and his lyrics are known even to the common folk of Bengal. His contemporary, Vidyāpati Thākur, though a native of Mithilā, is regarded as a poet of Bengal and his memory is venerated by the people of this province. The patronage of the princely courts also considerably helped the growth of literature. Vidyāpati was the court poet of a Hindu chief named Śiva Simha. The Muslim rulers of Bengal engaged scholars to translate the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* from Sanskrit into Bengali, which they understood and spoke. Thus Sultān Nusrat Shāh of Gaur had the *Mahābhārata* translated into Bengali. Vidyāpati

says much in praise of this Sultān and also of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn. Krittivās, whose Bengali version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has been regarded by some as the Bible of Bengal, enjoyed the patronage of a "King of Gaur". Mālādhar Vasu translated the *Bhāgavata* into Bengali under the patronage of Sultān Husain Shāh and received from him the title of *Gunarāja Khān*. Husain Shāh's general, Parāgal Khān, caused another translation of the *Mahābhārata* to be made by Parameśvara, also known as the Kavindra, and Parāgal Khān's son, Chutī Khān, governor of Chittagong, employed Śrīkara Nandī to translate the *Aśvamedha Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* into Bengali. We have already noted what great encouragement was given to the development of Telugu literature by the Vijayanagar court.

C. Literary Activity in Sanskrit

The period was not entirely barren of important compositions in Sanskrit, religious as well as secular, though in this respect it suffers in comparison with the preceding two or three centuries. About A.D. 1300 Pārthasārathī Miśra wrote several works on the *Karma Mimānsā*, of which the *Śāstra Dīpikā* was studied most widely. Some works which expounded the doctrines of the Yoga, Vaiśeshika, and Nyāya systems of philosophy were produced during this period. The more important dramas of the time were *Hammīr-mada-mardana* by Jay Singh Surī (A.D. 1219–1229), *Pradyumna-abhyudaya* by the Kerala prince Ravivarman, *Pratāp Rudra Kalyān* by Vidyānāth (A.D. 1300), *Pārvatī Parinaya* by Vāmana Bhatta Bāna (A.D. 1400), *Gangādāsa Pratāpa Vilāsa*, celebrating the fight of a prince of Chāmpāner against Muhammad II of Gujarāt, by Gangādhar, and the *Vidagdha Mādhava* and the *Lalita Mādhava*, written about A.D. 1532 by Rupa Goswamī, minister of Husain Shāh of Bengal, and author of no less than twenty-five works in Sanskrit. *Smriti* and grammatical literature flourished during this period in Mithilā and Bengal, the most famous writers being Padmanābha Datta, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya and Vāchaspati of Mithilā and Raghunandan of Bengal. It was also marked by the production of a mass of Jaina literature, secular as well as religious. The Vijayanagar rulers extended considerable patronage to scholars like Sāyana, his brother, Mādhava Vidyāranya, and others, and there was consequently a wide Sanskrit culture. We find instances of Muslim scholars possessing a knowledge of Sanskrit.

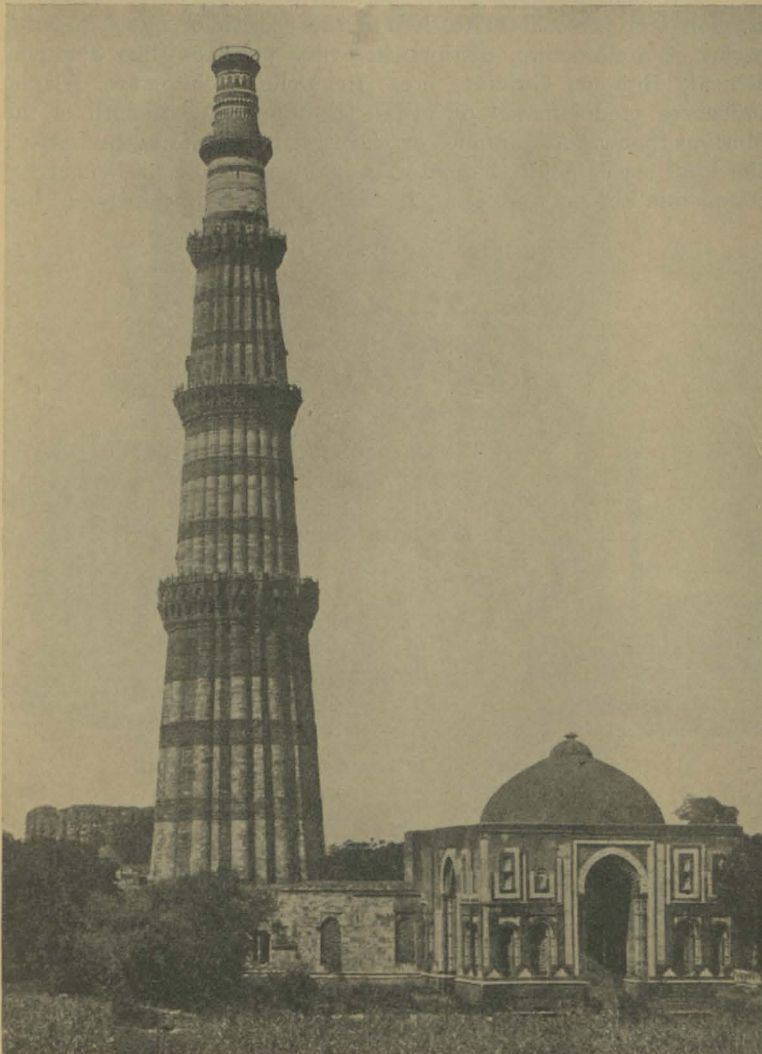
D. Persian Literature and Muslim Education

The Sultāns and Amīrs of Delhi, and the Muslim rulers and nobles in the provinces, naturally encouraged literary activities in Persian, which they appreciated better. Amīr Khusrav declared with pride that Delhi developed into an intellectual competitor of Bukhārā, the famous university-city of Central Asia. The then Muslim rulers of India extended patronage to the Persian scholars who flocked to their courts from other parts of Asia under the pressure of Mongol inroads; established institutions for Muslim learning at Delhi, Jullundur, Fīrūzābād and other places; founded libraries, the most important one being the Imperial Library at Delhi, of which Amīr Khusrav was appointed the librarian by Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī; and also helped the growth of Muslim literary societies. The most famous of the Indian scholars who wrote in Persian during this period was Amīr Khusrav He was a prolific writer, whose genius unfolded itself in poetry, prose and music, and whom destiny granted a long tenure of life. He first rose to fame during the reign of Balban and was the tutor of Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of the Sultān. Subsequently he became the court-poet of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, also enjoyed the patronage of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, and died in A.D. 1324–1325. Another poet of the time, whose fame was recognised outside India, was Shaikh Najm-ud-dīn Hasan, popularly known as Hasan-i-Dihlavī. The first Khaljī ruler did not forget to patronise learning, and his successor, 'Alā-ud-dīn, also seems to have been an enthusiastic friend of it. We are told by Barnī that "the most wonderful thing which people saw in 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign was the multitude of great men of all nationalities, masters of every science and experts in every art. The capital of Delhi, by the presence of these unrivalled men of great talents, had become the envy of Baghdād, the rival of Cairo, and the equal of Constantinople". The pious and learned scholar Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā and several other scholars flourished during this reign. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq, too, encouraged learned men; and, in spite of his fanciful projects, Muhammad bin Tughluq, himself a man of accomplishments, freely patronised poets, logicians, philosophers and physicians, and held discussion with them in his court. The most notable of the literary men of his time was Maulāna Muaiyyan-ud-dīn Umrānī, who wrote commentaries on the *Husaini*, *Talkhis*, and *Miftāh*. Fīrūz Shāh, himself the author of *Fatuhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, showed great zeal for the cause of education and established several colleges with mosques attached to them.

Among the learned men of his time, the most eminent were Qāzī 'Abdul Muqtadir Shānihi, Maulāna Khwājagi, and Ahmad Thānesvarī. Among the Lodīs, Sultān Sikandar was himself a poet, and gave considerable encouragement to learning. Most of the rulers of the Bahmanī kingdom and other independent Muslim dynasties, like those of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golkundā, Mālwa, Jaunpur, Bengal, and even Multān, were also patrons of letters. The Muslim writers showed their skill in a branch of study which had been comparatively neglected by the Hindus. They wrote several first-rate historical books in elegant prose. Thus we have Minhāj-ud-dīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, which is a general history of the Islamic world and was named after one of his patrons, Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. Amīr Khusrav's historical *mesnevis* are full of valuable information, and his *Ta'rīkh-i-'Alāi* especially "contains an interesting account of the first few years of the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī". The most famous historian of the period was Ziā-ud-dīn Barnī, a contemporary of Muhammad bin Tughluq and Fīrūz Shāh. Two other important historical works of the time are the *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf, written during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, and the *Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* of Yahiyā bin Ahmad Sarhindi, which was written about eighty years after the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq and was largely used by later writers.

E. Art and Architecture

It is inaccurate to describe the architecture of the period as "Indo-Saracenic" or "Pathān", as some scholars like Fergusson and others have done. Nor can it be regarded as entirely Indian in "soul and body", as Havell would ask us to believe. In fact, it represented a blending of Indian and Islamic styles, as did certain other aspects of the culture of the time. Sir John Marshall observed that "Indo-Islamic art is not merely a local variety of Islamic art", nor is it merely "a modified form of Hindu art. . . . Broadly speaking, Indo-Islamic architecture derives its character from both sources, though not always in an equal degree". There is no doubt that there existed in India certain Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina styles, while Islamic influences were slowly entering into this land from the middle of the seventh century A.D. At the same time, we should note that what we generally call Islamic art was not of a homogeneous and single type; but the followers of Islam, like the Arabs, the Persians, or the Turks, brought in their train the art of different parts of



QUTB MINĀR, DELHI

Western and Central Asia, Northern Africa and South-Western Europe. The mingling of these with the different indigenous styles of old Indian art during this period, according to the needs of religion and personal taste, led to the growth of new "Indian" styles of architecture, distinct in every province, like Jaunpur, Bengal, Bijāpur, Gujarāt, etc. In Delhi architecture Islamic influences predominated owing to the numerical strength of the Muslims there. "At Jaunpur, on the other hand, and in the Deccan, the local styles enjoyed greater ascendancy, while in Bengal the conquerors not only adopted the fashion of building in brick, but

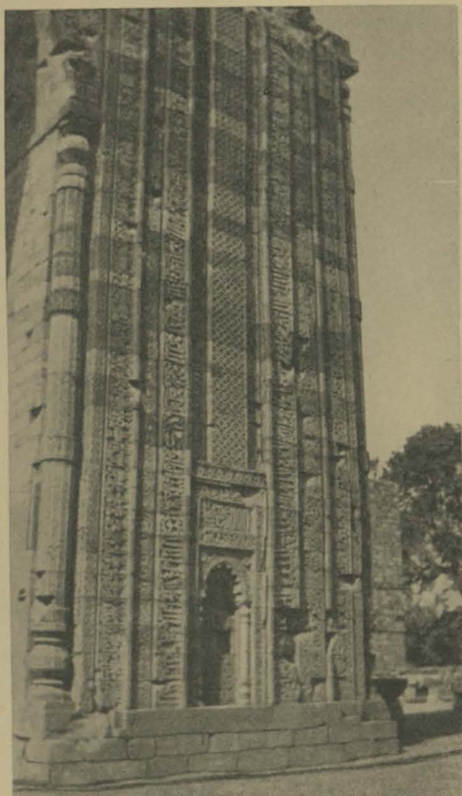


ARCHED SCREEN OF QUTB-UD-DĪN AIBAK ON THE QUWWAT-UL-ISLAM MASJID, DELHI

adorned their structures with chiselled and moulded enrichments frankly imitated from Hindu prototypes. So, too, in Western India they appropriated to themselves almost *en bloc* the beautiful Gujarātī style, which has yielded some of the finest buildings of medieval India; and in Kāshmīr they did the same with the striking wooden architecture which must have been long prevalent in that part of the Himālayas."

This amalgamation of exotic and indigenous architectural styles was possible owing to certain factors. The Muslims had of necessity to employ Indian craftsmen and sculptors, who were naturally guided in their work by the existing art traditions of their country. Further, in the earlier period of Muslim invasions, mosques were

constructed out of the materials of Hindu and Jaina temples, and sometimes the temples themselves were only modified to some extent to suit the requirements of the conquerors. Again, in spite of some striking contrasts between the Indian and Islamic styles, there were two points of resemblance between them which

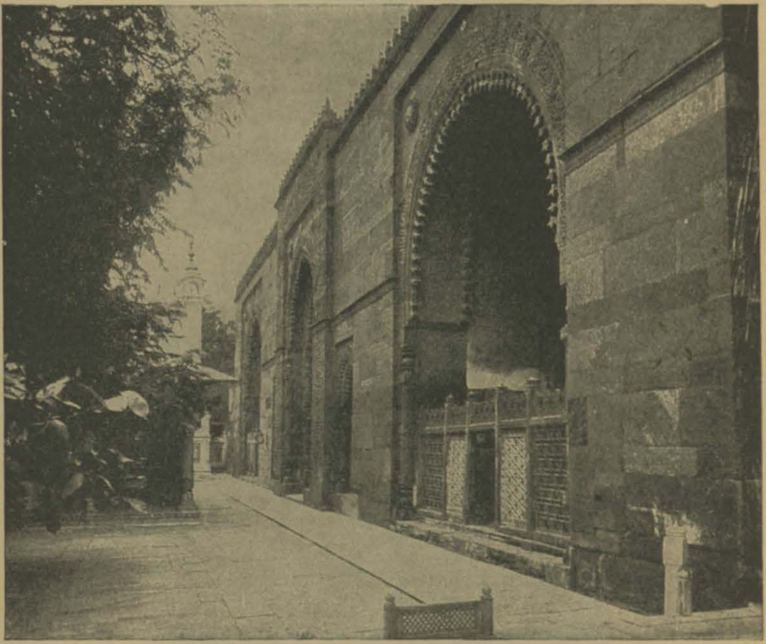


QUWWAT-UL-ISLAM MASJID, DELHI
(Carvings on screen extension)

favoured their fusion. One characteristic feature of many Hindu temples, as well as of Muslim mosques, was "the open court encompassed by chambers or colonnades, and such temples as were built on this plan naturally lent themselves to conversion into mosques and would be the first to be adapted for that purpose by the conquerors. Again, a fundamental characteristic that supplied a common link between the two styles was the fact that

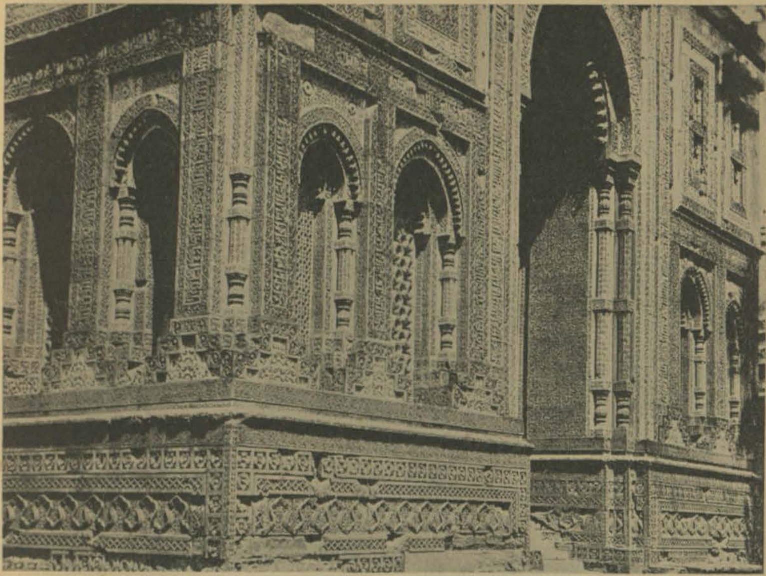
both Islamic and Hindu art were inherently decorative. Ornament was as vital to the one as to the other; both were dependent on it for their very being".

The best specimens of the Delhi style are offered by the Qutb group of mosques, the most famous of which is the Qutb Minār, marked by free-standing towers, calligraphic inscriptions and stalactite corbelling beneath the balconies. The two principal monuments of 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign—the *Jamā'at Khāna Masjid*



MASJID AT THE DARGĀH OF NIZĀM-UD-DĪN AULIYĀ

at the *Dargāh* of Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā and the *'Alāī Darwāza* at the Qutb Minār—show the growing preponderance of Muslim ideas over those of the Hindu architects. The architecture of the Tughluq period lost the splendour, luxuriance and variety which characterised that of the Slave and Khaljī regimes; it became prosaic, simple, austere and formal. This was due to the religious ideas of the Tughluqs and to the comparatively poor condition of the State finances during their rule. Under the Sayyids and the Lodīs, attempts were made to revive the animated style of the Khaljī period. But these succeeded only to a limited extent, and



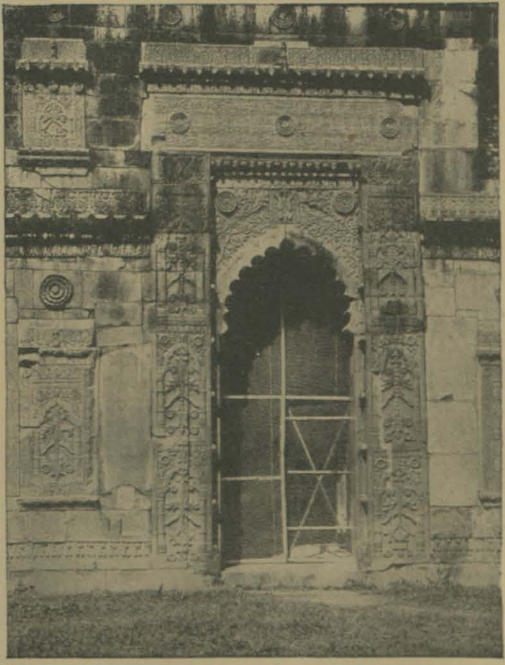
ALĀĪ DARWĀZA AT THE QUTB MINĀR, DELHI



TOMB OF FĪRŪZ SHĀH, SON OF RAJAB, DELHI



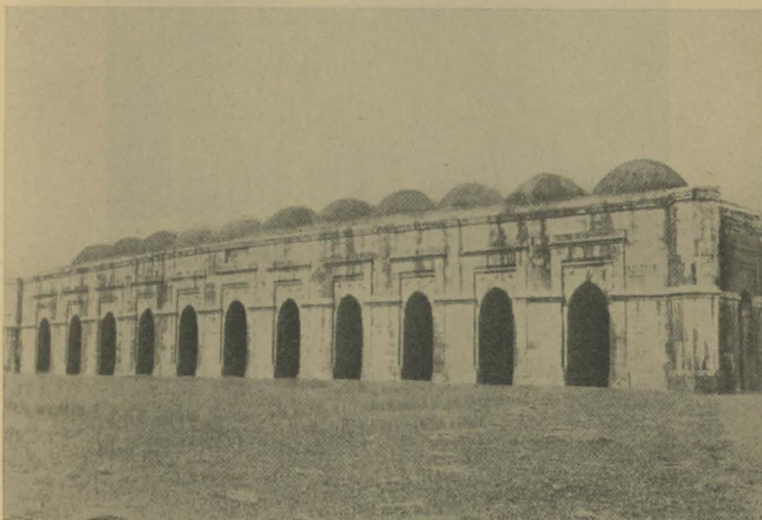
ATĀLA DEVĪ MASJID, JAUNPUR



CHHOTĀ SONĀ MASJID, GAUR

the style could not "shake off the deadening effect of the Tughluq period".

Between A.D. 1400 and 1478, during the reigns of Ibrāhīm, Mahmūd and Husain Sharqī, a new style of architecture developed in Jaunpur, which shows the indubitable influence of Hindu art. Its massive sloping walls, square pillars, smaller galleries and cloisters are clearly Hindu features, designed by Hindu masons; and the mosques of Jaunpur have no minarets of the usual type. In fact, many of the new buildings of Jaunpur were built out of the materials of old temples for a new purpose. The *Atāla Devī Masjid*, founded



BARĀ SONĀ MASJID, GAUR

in A.D. 1377, but completed in A.D. 1408, is one of the brilliant specimens of the Jaunpur style.

In Bengal also there grew up a mixed style of architecture, characterised by the use of bricks in the main, "the subsidiary use of stone, the use of pointed arches on short pillars, and the Muslim adaptation of the traditional Hindu temple style of curvilinear cornices copied from bamboo structures, and of beautifully carved Hindu symbolic decorative designs like the Lotus". The *Ādīna Masjid* at Pāndua of 400 domes, built by Sikandar in A.D. 1368, is renowned for its magnitude and beauty. The other famous mosques of this province are the *Chhotā Sonā Masjid* (Smaller Golden Mosque), built by Walī Muhammad during the reign of Husain Shāh between

A.D. 1493–1519; the *Barā Sonā Masjid* (Greater Golden Mosque), completed by Nusrat Shāh at Gaur in 1526; and the *Qadam Rasūl*, built by the same Sultān in A.D. 1530.

The province of Gujarāt also witnessed the growth of a beautiful style of architecture. A splendid indigenous style had already flourished there before the coming of the Muslims, and the buildings of the conquerors bear unmistakable signs of the influence of that style, though arches were occasionally used for symbolical

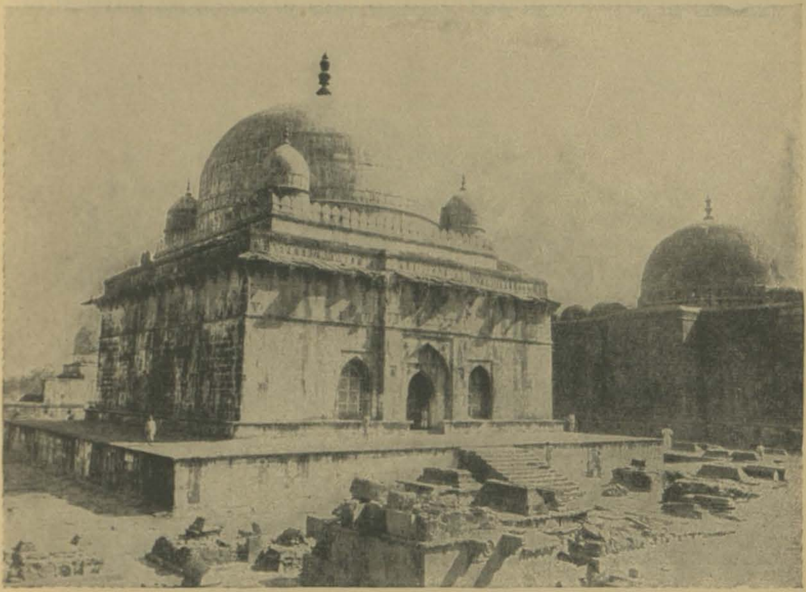


ĀDĪNA MASJID, PĀNDUA

purposes. Thus we find the use of fine wood-carving and also of delicate stone lattices and ornaments in the buildings of the new capital city, Ahmadābād, which was constructed by Ahmad Shāh, during A.D. 1411–1441, out of the ruins of old temples and buildings. The *Jāmi' Masjid*, the construction of which was begun in A.D. 1411, has 260 pillars supporting 15 stone domes, made of horizontally projecting courses in the indigenous style. Dr. Burgess, who has dealt exhaustively with the history and features of ancient

and medieval architecture in his five volumes of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, justly describes this style as "combining all the beauty and finish of the native art with a certain magnificence which is deficient in their own works". In the numerous buildings, mosques and tombs, built in Gujarāt since the accession of the Ahmad Shāhī rulers, the tradition of the old Indian art was predominant, though it was modified in certain respects according to the requirements of the followers of Islam.

At Dhār, the old capital of the kingdom of Mālwa, two mosques



TOMB OF HŪSHANG SHĀH

were built wholly out of the remains of old buildings; the domes and pillars of these mosques were of Hindu form. But the buildings at Māndū, where the capital was soon transferred, were marked by the predominance of Muslim art traditions, as those of Delhi; "the borrowing or imitating" of native forms "seems to have been suppressed and the buildings clung steadily to the pointed arch style". Among the many buildings of splendid architectural beauty built in the fortified city of Māndū, situated in an extensive plateau over-looking the Narmadā, the following deserve mention—the *Jāmi' Masjid*, which was planned and begun by

Hūshang and completed by Mahmūd Khaljī, the *Hindolā Mahal*, the *Jahāj Mahal*, Hūshang's tomb, and Bāz Bahādur's and Rupamatī's palaces. Marble and sandstone were used in many of these edifices.

The Muslim Sultāns of Kāshmīr continued the old tradition of stone and wooden architecture but grafted on it "structural forms and decorative motifs peculiarly associated with Islam". Thus here also we find a blending of Hindu and Muslim ideas of art.

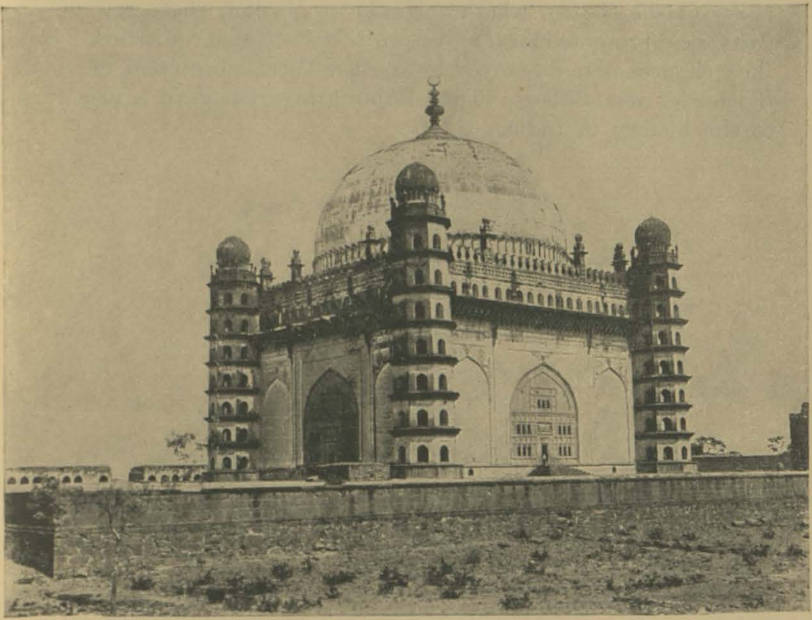
In South India the architecture of the Bahmanīds, who were patrons of art, letters and sciences, was a composite mixture of



TOMB OF FĪRŪZ SHĀH BAHMANĪ, GULBARGA

several elements—Indian, Turkish, Egyptian and Persian—the last of which was well-marked in some of the buildings like the *Jāmi' Masjid* at Gulbarga, the *Chānd Minār* at Daulatābād (1435) and the College of Mahmūd Gāwān at Bīdar (1472). Many of the Bahmanī buildings were built on the sites of the old temples and out of their materials, and thus the influence of old Hindu art could not be avoided. Turkish and Egyptian elements entered through West Asiatic and African adventurers, who got employment in the Bahmanī kingdom; and the Persian element through the Persians, who poured into that kingdom in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The native Deccan art, however, began

to reassert itself in growing vigour from the end of the fifteenth century. As the monuments which the 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijāpur built in the next century were constructed by Indian artists and craftsmen, "it was inevitable", writes Sir John Marshall, "that Indian genius should rise superior to foreign influence and stamp itself more and more deeply on these creations". We have already discussed the splendid outburst of art and architecture in the Vijayanagar Empire.



TOMB OF MUHAMMAD 'ĀDIL SHĀH, BIJĀPUR

Thus we find that, in spite of some bitterness in political relations, the impact of Hindu and Islamic civilisations was producing harmony and mutual understanding in the spheres of society, culture and art, during the Turko-Afghān period. This harmony developed in the time of the great Mughul, Akbar, to an unprecedented degree and was not wholly lost even in the time of his successors and also of the later Mughuls.

The preachings of the saintly teachers of India with their ideal of uplift of the masses, the tolerant ideas of the Sūfī saints and scholars, and the growth of Indian provincial literature, might be regarded

as signs of modernism appearing as a result of the fusion of two civilisations, while the medieval Sultānate was hastening towards disintegration. Another noticeable feature of Indian history on the eve of Bābur's invasion was the rise or growth of indigenous states, like Vijayanagar, Orissa and Mewār, as a sort of protest against foreign domination. We should also note that the rulers of the independent Muslim kingdoms that arose on the ruins of the medieval Muslim Empire cannot all be regarded as aliens; the rulers of Gujarāt, Ahmadnagar and Berar were of indigenous origin. Many of the States, whether Hindu or Muslim, that grew up at this time represented local movements for "self-determination". But their chances were destroyed by another Turkish incursion, of which the leader was Bābur. Thus Bābur's invasion gave a new turn to the history of India.

PART II

Book II

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

1370
450
920

CHAPTER I

MUGHUL-AFGHĀN CONTEST FOR SUPREMACY IN INDIA, A.D. 1526–1556

I. Bābur

THE history of India from A.D. 1526 to 1556 is mainly the story of the Mughul-Afghān contest for supremacy in this land. The previous Mughul (Mongol) inroads into India did not produce any tangible result except that they added, through the settlement of the "New Mussalmāns", a new element to the Indian population and at times harassed the Turko-Afghān Sultāns. But the invasion of Tīmūr, who occupied a province of the Empire, the Punjab, accelerated the fall of the decadent Sultānate. One of his descendants, Bābur, was destined to attempt a systematic conquest of Northern India and thus to lay here the foundation of a new Turkish dominion,[1] which being lost in the time of his son and successor, Humāyūn, in the face of an Afghān revival, was restored by the year 1556 and was gradually extended by Akbar. In fact, there were three phases in the history of the Mughul conquest of India. The first phase (1526–1530) was occupied with the subjugation of the Afghāns and the Rājputs under Rānā Sanga. The second phase (1530–1540) commenced with the reign of Humāyūn, who made unsuccessful attempts to subjugate Mālwa, Gujarāt and Bengal, but was expelled from India by Sher Shāh, which meant the revival of the Afghān power. The third phase (1545–1556) was marked by the restoration of the Mughul dominion by Humāyūn and its consolidation by Akbar.

Bābur, a Chaghātai Turk, was descended on his father's side from Tīmūr, and was connected on his mother's side with Chingīz Khān.

[1] The so-called Mughuls really belonged to a branch of the Turks named after Chaghātai, the second son of Chingīz Khān, the famous Mongol leader, who came to possess Central Asia and Turkestān, the land of the Turks. The establishment of the Mughul dominion in India can very well be regarded as "an event in Islamic and world history" in the sense that it meant a fresh triumph for Islam in India, at a time when its followers were gaining success in other parts of the world. Constantinople had been captured by the Turks in A.D. 1453, Sulaimān the Magnificent (1520–1566) extended the authority of the Turkish Empire over South-eastern Europe; and in Persia, Isma'īl Safavī (1500–1524) laid the foundation of the famous Safavī Empire.

In 1494 he inherited from his father, at the age of eleven, the small principality of Farghāna, now a province of Chinese Turkestān. But his early life was full of difficulties, which, however, proved to be a blessing in disguise by training him adequately to fight with the vicissitudes of fortune. He cherished the desire of recovering the throne of Tīmūr, but was thwarted by his kinsmen and near relatives at Farghāna and the rivalry of the Uzbeg chief Shaibānī Khān. His two attempts to take possession of the coveted city of Samarqānd in 1497 and 1503 ended in failure. To add to his misfortunes, he was deprived of his own patrimony of Farghāna and had to spend his days as a homeless wanderer for about a year. But even in this period of dire adversity, he formed the bold design of conquering Hindustān like his great ancestor Tīmūr, the story of whose Indian exploits he heard from an old lady of one hundred and eleven, mother of a village headman with whom he had found shelter for some time. Thus taking advantage of a rebellion in another part of the dominions of the Uzbegs, whose rising power had kept off the Tīmūrīds from their principalities, Bābur occupied Kābul in A.D. 1504. Being able to secure the help of Shāh Isma'īl Safavī of Persia against Shaibānī Khān, the Uzbeg chief, Bābur tried once again to occupy Samarqānd in October, 1511, but the Uzbegs under Shaibānī's successor finally defeated him in 1512. Bābur's ambitions towards the north-west being thus foiled, he decided to try his luck in the south-east, and led several expeditions in this direction, which were in the nature of reconnaissances, before he got an opportunity to advance into the heart of Hindustān after twelve years.

This opportunity came to Bābur when he was invited to India by a discontented party. It has already been pointed out how India was then distracted by the ambitions, disaffections and rivalries of the nobles, and the Delhi Sultānate existed in nothing but in name. The last nail in its coffin was driven by the ambition and revengeful spirit of some of its nobles. Two of them, Daulat Khān, the most powerful noble of the Punjab, who was discontented with Ibrāhīm Lodī because of the cruel treatment he had meted out to his son, Dilawar Khān, and 'Ālam Khān, an uncle of Ibrāhīm Lodī and a pretender to the throne of Delhi, went to the length of inviting Bābur to invade India. Probably Rānā Sanga had some negotiations with Bābur about this time.

Bābur had for some time been cherishing the ambition of invading Hindustān. His early training in the school of adversity had implanted in him the spirit of adventure. He at once responded to

the invitation, entered the Punjab and occupied Lahore in 1524. But his Indian confederates, Daulat Khān and 'Ālam Khān, soon realised their mistake. When they saw that Bābur had no desire to give up his Indian conquests, they turned against him. This compelled Bābur to retire to Kābul, where he began to collect reinforcements with a view to striking once again.

The blow was not long in coming. He marched from Kābul in November, 1525, occupied the Punjab, and compelled Daulat Khān Lodī to submit. The more difficult task of conquering Delhi, which was certainly within the horizon of Bābur's ambition, was still to be accomplished. So he proceeded against Ibrāhīm Lodī, the nominal ruler of the shrivelled Afghān Empire, and met him on the historic field of Pānīpat on the 21st April, 1526. He had with him a large park of artillery and an army of 12,000 men, while the numerical strength of the troops of Ibrāhīm was vastly superior, being 100,000 according to Bābur's estimate. But Bābur had the strength of character and experience of a veteran general, while his enemy, as we are told by Bābur himself, "was an inexperienced man, careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method and engaged without foresight". Thus by superior strategy and generalship and the use of artillery[1] Bābur won a decisive victory over the Lodī Sultān, who, after a desperate resistance, fell on the field of battle with the flower of his army. "By the grace and mercy of Almighty God," Bābur wrote, "this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust." Bābur quickly occupied Delhi and Āgra.

But the Mughul conquest of Hindustān was not an accomplished fact as a result of Bābur's victory over Ibrāhīm. It did not give him the virtual sovereignty over the country, because there were other strong powers like the Afghān military chiefs, and the Rājputs under Rānā Sanga, who also then aspired after political supremacy and were thus sure to oppose him. As a modern writer has aptly remarked, "the magnitude of Bābur's task could be properly realised when we say that it actually began with Pānīpat. Pānīpat set his foot on the path of empire-building, and in this path the first great obstacle was the opposition of the Afghān tribes" under a number of military chiefs, each one of whom exercised almost undisputed power within his domains or *jāgīrs*. Nevertheless, the battle of Pānīpat has its own significance in the sense that it marked the foundation of Mughul dominion in India.

[1] We have already pointed out that this was not the first occasion when artillery was used in India.

Shortly after occupying the Doāb, Bābur suppressed the Afghān nobles in the north, south and east of it. He sent his own nobles to the unconquered parts of the country to expel the Afghān chiefs therefrom, while he engaged himself at Āgra in organising his resources with a view to meeting the brave Rājput chief, Rānā Sanga, a collision with whom was inevitable. As a matter of fact, it took place almost before the task of subduing the Afghān nobles had been completed. Rānā Sanga, a veteran and intrepid warrior, marched to Bayāna, where he was joined by Hasan Khān Mewāti and some other Muslim supporters of the Lodī dynasty. Thus the Rājputs and some of the Indian Muslims allied themselves together with the determination to prevent the imposition of another foreign yoke on India. But all the Afghān chiefs could not combine with the Rājputs at this critical moment, and thus Bābur's task became comparatively easy. The course of Indian history might have taken a different turn if he had had to encounter the united strength of the Hindus and all the Muslims of India.

Rānā Sanga, the hero of Rājput national revival, was certainly a more formidable adversary than Ibrāhīm. He marched with an army, composed of 120 chiefs, 800,000 horse and 500 war elephants, and the rulers of Mārwār, Amber, Gwālior, Ajmer, and Chanderī, and Sultān Mahmūd Lodī (another son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī), whom Rānā Sanga had acknowledged as the ruler of Delhi, joined him. Moreover, the Rājputs, being "energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour". Bābur's small army was struck with terror and panic, and he himself also fully realised the magnitude of his task. But he possessed an indomitable spirit, and without being unnerved tried to infuse fresh courage and enthusiasm into the hearts of his dismayed soldiers. He broke his drinking cups, poured out all the liquor that he had with him on the ground, vowed not to take strong drink any longer, and appealed to his men in a stirring speech.

This produced the desired effect, and all his soldiers swore on the Holy Quran to fight for him. The Mughuls and the Indians met in a decisive contest at Khānua or Kānwā, a village almost due west of Āgra, on the 16th March, 1527. The Rājputs fought with desperate valour, but Bābur, by using similar tactics as at Pānīpat, triumphed over them. The defeat of the Rājputs was complete. The Rānā escaped with the help of some of his followers, but died broken-hearted after about two years. Bābur followed

up his success at Khānua by crossing the Jumnā and storming the fortress of Chanderī, in spite of the gallant opposition of the Rājputs.

The battle of Khānua is certainly one of the decisive battles of Indian history. In a sense, its results were more significant than those of the first battle of Pānīpat. The battle of Pānīpat marked the defeat of the titular Sultān of Delhi, who had in fact ceased to command sovereign authority, while that of Khānua resulted in the defeat of the powerful Rājput confederacy. The latter thus destroyed the chance of political revival of the Rājputs, for which they had made a bid on the decay of the Turko-Afghān Sultānate. It is, of course, far from the truth to say that the Rājputs "ceased henceforth to be a dominant factor in the politics of Hindustān". In fact, their retirement from the field of politics was only temporary. They revived once again after about thirty years and exercised profound influence on the history of the Mughul Empire. Even Sher Shāh had to reckon with Rājput hostility. But the temporary eclipse of the Rājputs after Khānua facilitated Bābur's task in India and made possible the foundation of a new foreign rule. Rushbrook Williams is right when he says that before the battle of Khānua, "the occupation of Hindustān might have been looked upon as a mere episode in Bābur's career of adventure; but from henceforth it becomes the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life. His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now over; the fortune is his and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his career, which this battle marks, that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a stricken field. Fighting there is and fighting in plenty to be done; but it is fighting for the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne. And it is also significant of Bābur's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kābul to Hindustān".

We have already noted how Bābur hurried to meet the Rājputs by leaving the task of thorough subjugation of the Afghān chiefs incomplete. But he could now turn his undivided attention to it. He met the allied Afghāns of Bihār and Bengal on the banks of the Gogrā, near the junction of that river with the Ganges above Patna, and inflicted a crushing defeat on them on the 6th May, 1529. Thus, as a result of three battles, a considerable portion of Northern India was reduced to submission by Bābur, who became the master of a kingdom extending from the Oxus to the

Gogrā and from the Himālayas to Gwālior, though there remained certain gaps to be filled in here and there.

But Bābur was not destined to enjoy for long the fruits of his hard-won victories. He died at Āgra at the age of forty-seven or forty-eight, on the 26th December, 1530. The Muslim historians relate a romantic anecdote regarding his death. It is said that when his son, Humāyūn, fell ill, Bābur, by a fervent prayer to God, had his son's disease transferred to his own body, and thus while the son began to recover, the father's health gradually declined till he ultimately succumbed, two or three months after Humāyūn's recovery. A modern writer argues that Bābur's death was due to the attack of a disease and that "there is no reason to believe the fantasy told by 'Abul Fazl that Bābur died as the result of the sacrifice he performed for his son".[1] Bābur's body was first laid at Ārāmbāgh in Āgra, but was afterwards conveyed to Kābul, where it was buried in one of his favourite gardens.[2]

During the four years that Bābur spent in Hindustān, the Punjab, the territory covered by the modern United Provinces, and North Bihār, were conquered by him, and the leading Rājput state of Mewār also submitted to him. But he could effect nothing more than conquests, which alone do not suffice to stabilise an Empire, unless the work of administrative consolidation goes hand in hand with, or immediately follows, them. Thus, as a modern writer has remarked, "what he had left undone was of greater importance" than what he had done. Though his military conquests gave him an extensive dominion, "there was", writes Erskine, "little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast empire. Hardly any law could be regarded as universal but that of the unrestrained power of the prince. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village, was governed, in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs. . . . There were no regular courts of law spread over the kingdom for the administration of justice. . . . All differences relating to land, where they were not settled by the village officers, were decided by the district authorities, the collectors, the Zamindārs or Jāgīrdārs. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil but also criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form or under little restraint". In fact, after his conquests, Bābur had hardly any time to enact new laws,

[1] Srī Rām Sharmā, "Story of Bābur's Death", *Calcutta Review*, September, 1936.

[2] As Bābur himself tells us, he had a special liking for Kābul. "The climate is extremely delightful," he writes, "and there is no such place in the known world."

or to reorganise the administration, which continued to retain its medieval feudal nature with all its defects. He could not build a sound financial system. He spent much wealth in offering presents and gifts to his followers, and remitted certain duties for the Muslims. Nor could he leave behind him any "remarkable public and philanthropic institutions" to win the goodwill of the governed. Thus, taking these defects of Bābur's work into consideration, it can very well be said that he "bequeathed to his son a monarchy which could be held together only by the continuance of war conditions, which in times of peace was weak, structureless and invertebrate". Nevertheless, he occupies an important place in the history of India, as he was the first architect to lay the foundation stone of the edifice of the Mughul Empire in India, on which the superstructure was raised by his illustrious grandson, Akbar.

Bābur is one of the most romantic and interesting personalities in the history of Asia. A man of indomitable spirit and remarkable military prowess, he was no ruthless conqueror exulting in needless massacres and wanton destruction. An affectionate father, a kind master, a generous friend and a firm believer in God, he was an ardent lover of Nature and truth and "excelled in music and other arts". He probably inherited from his father the restless spirit of adventure and geniality of temperament that he did not lose even in the most troublesome period of his life, and derived his literary tastes from his maternal grandfather. As Lane-Poole observes: "He is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tīmūr and Akbar. The blood of the two great scourges of Asia, Chingīz and Tīmūr, mixed in his veins, and to the daring and restlessness of the nomad Tārtār he joined the culture and urbanity of the Persian. He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk, to the subjection of the listless Hindu; and, himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar completed. . . . His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line; but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful *Memoirs* in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Bābur was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception. In Persian, the language of culture, the Latin of Central Asia, as it is of India, he was an accomplished poet, and in his native Turkī he was master of a

pure and unaffected style alike in prose and verse." His *Memoirs*, which deservedly hold a high place in the history of human literature, were translated into Persian by 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān in the time of Akbar in 1590, into English by Leyden and Erskine in 1826, and into French in 1871. Annette Susannah Beveridge has published a revised English version of these. There is also a small collection of his fine Turkī lyrics.

2. Humāyūn and his Early Wars

Three days after the death of Bābur, Humāyūn ascended the throne of Hindustān at the age of twenty-three. The situation at his accession was not indeed a very easy one. He was confronted with several hostile forces on all sides, disguised and so the more dangerous. There was hardly any unity in the royal family, and his cousins, Muhammad Zamān and Muhammad Sultān, were pretenders to the throne. Moreover, as the law of primogeniture was not strictly enforced among the Mussalmāns, his three brothers, Kāmrān, Hindāl and 'Askarī, also coveted the throne. As Erskine remarks: "The sword was the grand arbiter of right, and every son was prepared to try his fortune against his brothers." His court was also full of nobles who engineered plans for the possession of the throne. Further, the army at his disposal was a mixed body, composed of adventurers of diverse nationalities having conflicting interests. Thus, he could not safely count on the support of his relatives, his court, or his army. Again, Bābur's legacy to Humāyūn was of a precarious nature. The former, as we have already noted, did not leave behind him a consolidated and well-organised Empire. In fact, "he had defeated the armies and broken the power of the reigning dynasty; but the only hold which he, or his race, yet had upon the people of India was military force". The Rājputs had been only temporarily subdued. Though the Afghāns had been defeated, they were far from being permanently crushed. The numerous scattered Afghān nobles, always ripe for revolt, required only a strong and able leader to galvanise them into life, and this they found in Sher Shāh. The growing power of Gujarāt under Bahādur Shāh was also a serious menace to Humāyūn.

A ruler, possessed of military genius, diplomatic skill, and political wisdom, was the need of the hour. But Humāyūn lacked all of these. In fact, he himself proved to be his worst enemy. Though endowed with intellectual tastes and love of culture, he was devoid of the wisdom and discretion, as well as strong

determination and perseverance, of his father. As Lane-Poole observes, "he was incapable of sustained effort and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium-eater's paradise whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate. Naturally kind, he forgave when he should have punished; light-hearted and sociable, he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in the saddle. His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend. But as a king he was a failure. His name means 'fortunate', and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled".

The first mistake on the part of Humāyūn was that he showed indiscreet clemency, probably under the dying instructions of his father, towards his brothers, who being his jealous rivals should have been kept under effective control. 'Askarī was given the fief of Sambhal; Hindāl that of Alwar; and Kāmrān, the eldest of the three, was not only confirmed in the possession of Kābul and Qandahār but also secured after a military demonstration against Mīr Yunus 'Ālī, Humāyūn's general at Lahore, the Punjab and the district of Hissār Fīrūza, to the east of the Punjab proper. Thus Humāyūn struck at the root of the integrity of Bābur's Empire. Further, the transfer of the Indus region and beyond to Kāmrān deprived Humāyūn of the best recruiting ground for his army, the strength of which was absolutely necessary for the safety of the infant Mughul dominion in India. The possession of Hissār Fīrūza gave Kāmrān the command of the high-road between the Punjab and Delhi.

Fortune, however, favoured Humāyūn in his early wars, before the hostile forces had grown uncontrollable. Five or six months after his accession he marched to besiege the fortress of Kālinjar in Bundelkhand, on the suspicion that its Rājā was in sympathy with the Afghāns. But he had to retire, after levying a certain amount of money from the Rājā, to deal with the Afghān menace in the east. He gained a decisive victory over the Afghāns at Dourah (Dauhrūā) and drove out Sultān Mahmūd Lodī from Jaunpur. He besieged Chunār, then held by the Afghān chief Sher Khān, but soon abandoned it, and without completely suppressing the rising Afghān chief accepted from him "a purely perfunctory submission", and thus allowed him free scope to develop his resources and power, while he had to march to the west to check the growing pretensions of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt.

Bahādur Shāh had given definite provocation to Humāyūn. He had openly given shelter and help to many of the Afghān refugees

and foes of the latter. The decline of Mewār had given him the opportunity to extend his territories at its expense, and after annexing Mālwa he besieged the famous Rājput fortress of Chitor, when Humāyūn reached Mālwa towards the end of 1534 without reaping the full advantage of his victory over the Afghāns. Severely harassed by the Gujarātīs, Rānī Karnāvatī of Mewār solicited Humāyūn's assistance against Bahādur Shāh. But the Mughul king paid no heed to this, nor did he, for his own sake, immediately attack Bahādur Shāh, but waited while the latter vanquished the Rājputs and stormed Chitor with the help of the Turkish engineer, Rūmī Khān (of Constantinople), and Portuguese and other European artillerymen. Humāyūn committed a fatal blunder by ignoring the Rājput appeal. Indeed, he lost a golden opportunity of winning for his own cause their sympathy and support, the inestimable worth of which was realised by his son, Akbar. For the present he defeated the troops of Bahādur Shāh in an engagement on the banks of an artificial lake near Mandasor, chased him from Māndū to Champāner and Ahmadābād and thence to Cambay till he was compelled to seek refuge in the island of Diu. But this victory of Humāyūn over the Gujarāt ruler was short-lived. The weakness of his character soon manifested itself here as in other events of his career. In the flush of victory, he, his brother, 'Askarī, and most of his soldiers, plunged into feasting and revelry, as a natural sequel to which "his affairs fell into confusion; and even his own camp became a scene of uproar and insubordination". The Sultān of Gujarāt took advantage of this to recover his lost territories from the Mughuls. Humāyūn could not think of subduing him again, as his attention was drawn towards the east, where the Afghāns had grown immensely powerful. No sooner had he begun his return march than Mālwa was also lost to him. Thus "one year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces; the next saw them quickly lost". The next stage in Humāyūn's career was marked by his ill-fated conflicts with Sher, the champion of Afghān revival.

3. Sher Shāh and the Sūrs : The Afghān Revival and Decline

Bābur's victories at Pānīpat and Gogrā did not result in the complete annihilation of the Afghān chiefs. They were seething with discontent against the newly founded alien rule, and only needed the guidance of one strong personality to coalesce their isolated efforts into an organised national resistance against it. This they got in Sher Khān Sūr, who effected the revival of the

Afghān power and established a glorious, though short, régime in India by ousting the newly established Mughul authority.

The career of Sher Khān Sūr, the hero of Indo-Muslim revival, is as fascinating as that of Bābur and not less instructive than that of the great Mughul, Akbar. Originally bearing the name of Farid, he began his life in a humble way, and, like many other great men in history, had to pass through various trials and vicissitudes of fortune before he rose to prominence by dint of his personal merit. His grandfather, Ibrāhīm, an Afghān of the Sūr tribe, lived near Peshāwār and his father's name was Hasan. Ibrāhīm migrated with his son to the east in quest of military service in the early part of Buhlūl Lodī's reign and both first entered the service of Mahābat Khān Sūr and Dāūd Khān Sāhu Khāil, *jāgīrdārs* of the *paraganās* of Hariana and Bakhala in the Punjab, and settled in the *paraganā* of Bājwara or Bejoura, where probably Farid was born in A.D. 1472.[1] After some time Ibrāhīm got employment under Jamāl Khān Sarang Khānī of Hissār Fīrūza in the Delhi district. Farid was soon taken to Sasarām by his father, Hasan, who had been granted a *jāgīr* there by his master, Umar Khān Sarwānī, entitled Khān-i-A'zam, when the latter got the governorship of Jaunpur. Hasan, like the other nobles of his time, was a polygamist, and Farid's step-mother had predominant influence over him. This made him indifferent to Farid, whereupon the latter left home at the age of twenty-two and went to Jaunpur. Thus the Afghān youth was forced into a life of adventure and struggle, which cast his mind and character in a heroic mould. For some time he devoted himself to study. By indefatigable industry and steady application, Farid early attracted the attention of his teachers at Jaunpur and quickly gained an uncommon acquaintance with the Persian language and literature. He was capable of reproducing from memory the *Gulistān*, *Bustān* and *Sikandar-nāmah*. Being pleased with this promising youth, Jamāl Khān, his father's patron, effected a reconciliation between him and his father, who allowed him to return to Sasarām and to administer the *paraganās* of Sasarām and Khawaspur, both then dependent on Rohtās in Bihār. The successful administration of those two places by Farid served to increase his step-mother's jealousy, and so leaving Sasarām once again he went to Āgra.

On the death of his father, Farid took possession of his paternal *jāgīr* on the strength of a royal *firman*, which he had been able

[1] The old view of Dr. Qanungo that Farid was born at Hissār Fīrūza in A.D. 1486 has been recently pointed out to be wrong by Prof. Paramatma Saran in his paper on "The Date and Place of Sher Shāh's Birth" published in *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1934, pp. 108–22.

to procure at Āgra. In 1522 he got into the service of Bahar Khān Lohānī, the independent ruler of Bihār, whose favour he soon secured by discharging his duties honestly and assiduously. His master conferred on him the title of Sher Khān for his having shown gallantry by killing a tiger single-handed, and also soon rewarded his ability and faithfulness by appointing him his deputy (*Vakil*) and tutor (*Atāliq*) of his minor son, Jalāl Khān.

But perverse destiny again went against Sher. His enemies poisoned his master's mind against him, and he was once more deprived of his father's *jāgīr*. "Impressed by the complete success of Mughul arms" and with the prospect of future gain, he now joined Bābur's camp, where he remained from April, 1527, to June, 1528. In return for the valuable services he rendered to Bābur in his eastern campaigns, the latter restored Sasarām to him.

Sher soon left the Mughul service and came back to Bihār to become again its deputy governor and guardian of his former pupil, Jalāl Khān. While the minor king remained as the nominal ruler of Bihār, Sher became the virtual head of its government. In the course of four years he won over the greater part of the army to his cause and "elevated himself to a state of complete independence". Meanwhile, the fortress of Chunār luckily came into his possession. Tāj Khān, the Lord of Chunār, was killed by his eldest son, who had risen against his father for his infatuation with a younger wife, Lad Mālikā. This widow, however, married Sher Khān and gave him the fortress of Chunār. Humāyūn besieged Chunār in 1531, but Sher Khān had taken no part in the Afghān rising of that year and saved his position by a timely submission to the Mughul invader.

The rapid and unexpected rise of Sher at the expense of the Lohānī Afghāns made the latter, and even Jalāl Khān, impatient of his control. They tried to get rid of this dictator. The attempt, however, failed owing to his "unusual circumspection". They then entered into an alliance (September, 1533) with Mahmūd Shāh, the King of Bengal, who was naturally eager to check the rise of Sher, which prejudiced his own prestige and power. But the brave Afghān deputy inflicted a defeat on the allied troops of the Bengal Sultān and the Lohānīs at Surajgarh, on the banks of the Kiul river, east of the town of Bihār. The victory at Surajgarh was indeed a turning-point in the career of Sher. "Great as it was as a military achievement, it was greater in its far-reaching political result. . . . But for the victory at Surajgarh, the *jāgīrdār* of Sasarām would never have emerged from his obscurity into the

arena of politics to run, in spite of himself, a race for the Empire with hereditary crowned heads like Bahādur Shāh and Humāyūn Pādshāh." It made him the undisputed ruler of Bihār in fact as well as in name.

Sher had an opportunity to increase his power when Humāyūn marched against Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt. He suddenly invaded Bengal and appeared before its capital, Gaur, not by the usual route through the Teliāgarhī passes (near modern Sāhebganj on the E.I. Ry. Loop Line), but by another unfrequented and less circuitous one. Mahmūd Shāh, the weak ruler of Bengal, without making any serious attempt to oppose the Afghān invader, concluded peace with him by paying him a large sum, amounting to thirteen lacs of gold pieces, and by ceding to him a territory extending from Kiul to Sakrigalī, ninety miles in length with a breadth of thirty miles. These fresh acquisitions considerably enhanced Sher's power and prestige, and, after the expulsion of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt to Diu, many of the distinguished Afghān nobles joined their rising leader in the east. Thus strengthened, Sher again invaded Bengal about the middle of October, 1537, with a view to conquering it permanently, and closely besieged the city of Gaur. Humāyūn, who on his way back from Gujarāt and Mālwa had been wasting his time at Āgra, in his usual fashion, realised the gravity of the Afghān menace in the east rather too late and marched to oppose Sher Khān in the second week of December, 1537. But instead of proceeding straight to Gaur, by which he could have frustrated the designs of Sher Khān in alliance with the Sultān of Bengal, he besieged Chunār. The brave garrison of Sher Khān at Chunār baffled all the attempts of the assailants for six months, while Sher Khān was left free to utilise that time for the reduction of Gaur by April, 1538. Sher Khān had also captured the fortress of Rohtās by questionable means and had sent his family and wealth there. Baffled in Bihār, Humāyūn turned towards Bengal and entered Gaur in July, 1538. But Sher Khān, cleverly avoiding any open contest with him in Bengal, went to occupy the Mughul territories in Bihār and Jaunpur and plunder the tract as far west as Kanauj.

Humāyūn, who was then whiling away his time in idleness and festivities at Gaur, was disconcerted on hearing of Sher's activities in the west and left Bengal for Āgra before his return should be cut off. But he was opposed on the way, at Chaunsa near Buxar, by Sher Khān and his Afghān followers and suffered a heavy defeat in June, 1539. Most of the Mughul soldiers were drowned or captured; and the life of their unlucky ruler was saved

by a water-carrier, who carried him on his water-skin across the Ganges, into which he had recklessly jumped.

The victory over the sovereign of Delhi widened the limit of Sher Khān's ambition and made him the *de facto* ruler of the territories extending from Kanauj in the west to the hills of Assam and Chittagong in the east and from the Himālayas in the north to the hills of Jhārkhand (from Rohtās to Bīrbhūm) and the Bay of Bengal in the south. To legalise what he had gained by the strength of arms and strategy, he now assumed the royal title of Sher Shāh and ordered the *Khutba* to be read and the coins to be struck in his name. Next year Humāyūn made another attempt to recover his fortune, though he could not secure the co-operation of his brothers in spite of his best attempts. On the 17th May, 1540, the Mughuls and the Afghāns met again opposite Kanauj. The army of Humāyūn, hopelessly demoralised, half-hearted and badly officered, was severely defeated by the Afghāns at the battle of the Ganges or Bilgrām, commonly known as the battle of Kanauj, and Humāyūn just managed to escape. Thus the work of Bābur in India was undone, and the sovereignty of Hindustān once more passed to the Afghāns. From this time Humāyūn had to lead the life of a wanderer for about fifteen years.

The sons of Bābur failed to combine even at such a critical moment, though Humāyūn went to Lahore and did his best to win them over. Their selfishness triumphed over common interests and Sher Shāh was able to extend his authority to the Punjab also. The Afghān ruler marched, with his usual promptitude and vigour, to subdue the warlike hill tribes of the Gakkar country, situated between the upper courses of the Indus and the Jhelum. He ravaged this territory but could not thoroughly reduce the Gakkars, as he had to proceed hurriedly to Bengal in March, 1541, where his deputy had imprudently rebelled against his authority. He dismissed the rebel, "changed the military character of the provincial administration and substituted a completely new mechanism, at once original in principle and efficient in working". The province was divided into several districts, each of which was to be governed by an officer appointed directly by him and responsible to him alone.

Sher Shāh next turned his attention against the Rājputs of the west, who had not yet recovered fully from the blow of Khānua. Having subjugated Mālwa in A.D. 1542, he marched against Pūran Mal of Rāisin in Central India. After some resistance the garrison of the fort of Rāisin capitulated, the Rājputs agreeing to evacuate the fort on condition that they were allowed to pass "unmolested"

beyond the frontier of Mālwa. But the Afghāns fell furiously on the people of the fort as soon as the latter had come outside the walls. To save their wives and children from disgrace, the Rājputs took their lives, and themselves died to a man, fighting bravely against their formidable foe, in 1543. The Rāisin incident has been condemned by several writers as a great blot on the character of Sher Shāh. Sind and Multān were annexed to the Afghān Empire by the governor of the Punjab. There remained only one more formidable enemy of Sher Shāh to be subdued. He was Māldev, the Rājput ruler of Mārwār, a consummate general and energetic ruler, whose territories extended over about 10,000 square miles. Instigated by some disaffected Rājput chiefs whose territories had been conquered by Māldev, Sher Khān led an expedition against the Rāthor chief in A.D. 1544. Māldev, on his part, was not unprepared. Considering it inadvisable to risk an open battle with the Rāthors in their own country, Sher Shāh had recourse to a stratagem. He sent to Māldev a few forged letters, said to have been written to him by the Rājput generals, promising him their help, and thus succeeded in frightening the Rāthor ruler, who retreated from the field and took refuge in the fortress of Sivan. In spite of this, the generals of the Rājput army, like Jeta and Kama, with their followers, opposed Sher Shāh's army and fought with desperate valour, but only to meet a warrior's death. Sher Shāh won a victory, though at great cost, with the loss of several thousand Afghāns on the battlefield and coming near to losing his empire. The Rājputs lost a chance of revival and the path was left open for undisputed Afghān supremacy over Northern India. After this success, Sher Shāh reduced to submission the whole region from Ajmer to Ābū and marched to besiege the fort of Kālinjar. He succeeded in capturing the fort, but died from an accidental explosion of gunpowder on the 22nd May, 1545.

A brave warrior and a successful conqueror, Sher Shāh was the architect of a brilliant administrative system, which elicited admiration even from eulogists of his enemies, the Mughuls. In fact, his qualities as a ruler were more remarkable than his victories on the field of battle. His brief reign of five years was marked by the introduction of wise and salutary changes in every conceivable branch of administration. Some of these were by way of revival and reformation of the traditional features of the old administrative systems of India, Hindu as well as Muslim, while others were entirely original in character, and form, indeed, a link between ancient and modern India. "No government—not even the British," affirms Mr. Keene, "has shown so much wisdom

as this Pathān." Though Sher Shāh's government was a highly centralised system, crowned by a bureaucracy, with real power concentrated in the hands of the King, he was not an unbridled autocrat, regardless of the rights and interests of the people. In the spirit of an enlightened despot, he "attempted to found an empire broadly based upon the people's will".

For convenience of administration, the whole Empire was divided into forty-seven units (*sarkārs*), each of which was again subdivided into several *paraganās*. The *paraganā* had one *Amīn*, one *Shiqdār*, one treasurer, one Hindu writer and one Persian writer to keep accounts. Over the next higher administrative unit, the *sarkār*, were placed a *Shiqdār-i-Shiqdārān* and a *Munsif-i-Munsifān* to supervise the work of the *paraganā* officers. To check undue influence of the officers in their respective jurisdictions, the King devised the plan of transferring them every two or three years, which, however, could not be long-enduring owing to the brief span of his rule. Every branch of the administration was subject to Sher Shāh's personal supervision. Like Aśoka and Harsha, he acted up to the maxim that "it behoves the great to be always active".

Sher Shāh's land revenue reforms, based on wise and humane principles, have unique importance in the administrative history of India; for they served as the model for future agrarian systems. After a careful and proper survey of the lands, he settled the land revenue direct with the cultivators, the State demand being fixed at one-fourth or one-third of the average produce, payable either in kind or in cash, the latter method being preferred. For actual collection of revenue the Government utilised the services of officers like the *Amīns*, the *Maqadams*, the *Shiqdārs*, the *Qānūngos* and the *Patwārīs*. Punctual and full payment of the assessed amount was insisted on and enforced, if necessary, by Sher Shāh. He instructed the revenue officials to show leniency at the time of assessment and to be strict at the time of collection of revenues. The rights of the tenants were duly recognised and the liabilities of each were clearly defined in the *kabuliyat* (deed of agreement), which the State took from him, and the *paṭṭā* (title-deed), which it gave him in return. Remissions of rents were made, and probably loans were advanced to the tenants in case of damage to crops, caused by the encampment of soldiers, or the insufficiency of rain. These revenue reforms increased the resources of the State and at the same time conduced to the interest of the people.

The currency and tariff reforms of Sher Shāh were also calculated to improve the general economic condition of his Empire. He not

only introduced some specific changes in the mint but also tried to rectify "the progressive deterioration of the previous Kings". He reformed the tariff by removing vexatious customs and permitting the imposition of customs on articles of trade only at the frontiers and in the places of sale. This considerably helped the cause of trade and commerce by facilitating easy and cheap transport of merchandise.

This was further helped by the improvement of communications. For the purpose of imperial defence, as well as for the convenience of the people, Sher Shāh connected the important places of his kingdom by a chain of excellent roads. The longest of these, the Grand Trunk Road, which still survives, extended for 1,500 *kos* from Sonārgāon in Eastern Bengal to the Indus. One road ran from Āgra to Burhānpur, another from Āgra to Jodhpur and the fort of Chitor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multān. Following the traditions of some rulers of the past, Sher Shāh planted shade-giving trees on both sides of the established roads, and *sarāis* or rest-houses at different stages, separate arrangements being provided for the Muslims and the Hindus. These *sarāis* also served the purpose of post-houses, which facilitated quick exchange of news and supplied the Government with information from different parts of the Empire. The maintenance of an efficient system of espionage also enabled the ruler to know what happened in his kingdom.

To secure peace and order, the police system was reorganised, and the principle of local responsibility for local crimes was enforced. Thus the village headmen were made responsible for the detection of criminals, and maintenance of peace, in the rural areas. The efficiency of the system has been testified to by all the Muslim writers. "Such was the state of safety of the highway," observes Nizām-ud-dīn, who had no reason to be partial towards Sher Shāh, "that if any one carried a purse full of gold (pieces) and slept in the desert (deserted places) for nights, there was no need for keeping watch."

Sher Shāh had a strong sense of justice, and its administration under him was even-handed, no distinction being made between the high and the low, and not even the near relatives of the King being spared from its decrees. In the *paraganā*, civil suits were disposed of by the *Amīn*, and other cases, mostly criminal, by the *Qāzī* and the *Mīr-i-Adal.* Several *paraganās* had over them a *Munsif-i-Munsifān* to try civil cases. At the capital city there were the Chief *Qāzī*, the imperial *Sadr*, and above all, the Emperor as the highest authority in judicial as in other matters.

Though a pious Muslim, Sher Shāh was not a fierce bigot.[1] His treatment of the Hindus in general was tolerant and just. He employed Hindus in important offices of the State, one of his best generals being Brahmajit Gaur. "His attitude towards Hinduism," observes Dr. Qanungo, "was not of contemptuous sufferance but of respectful deference; it received due recognition in the State."

Sher Shāh realised the importance of maintaining a strong and efficient army, and so reorganised it, borrowing largely the main principles of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī's military system. The services of a body of armed retainers, or of a feudal levy, were not considered sufficient for his needs; he took care to maintain a regular army, the soldiers being bound to him, through their immediate commanding officer, by the strong tie of personal devotion and discipline. He had under his direct command a large force consisting of 150,000 cavalry, 25,000 infantry, 300 elephants and artillery. Garrisons were maintained at different strategic points of the kingdom; each of these, called a *fauj*, was under the command of a *faujdār*. Sher Shāh enforced strict discipline in the army and took ample precautions to prevent corruption among the soldiers. Besides duly supervising the recruitment of soldiers, he personally fixed their salaries, took their descriptive rolls and revived the practice of branding horses.

Sher Shāh is indeed a striking personality in the history of Medieval India. By virtue of sheer merit and ability he rose from a very humble position to be the leader of Afghān revival, and one of the greatest rulers that India has produced. His "military character" was marked by "a rare combination of caution and enterprise"; his political conduct was, on the whole, just and humane; his religious attitude was free from medieval bigotry; and his excellent taste in building is well attested, even to-day, by his noble mausoleum at Sasarām. He applied his indefatigable industry to the service of the State, and his reforms were well calculated to secure the interests of the people. He had, remarks Erskine, "more of the spirit of a legislator and a guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar". In fact, the real significance of his reign lies in the fact that he embodied in himself those very qualities which are needed for the building of a national State in India, and he prepared the ground for the glorious Akbaride régime in more ways than one. But for his accidental death after

[1] It does not seem to be fair to describe Sher Shāh's religious policy as "narrow" as a modern writer has done. *Vide I.H.Q.*, December, 1936, pp. 600–1.

only five years' rule, the restoration of the Mughuls would not have been accomplished so soon. As Smith observes: "If Sher Shāh had been spared, the 'Great Moghuls' would not have appeared on the stage of history." His right to the throne of India was better than that of Humāyūn. While Humāyūn had inherited the conquests of a Central Asian adventurer, who had not been able to create any strong claim, except that of force, for the rule of his dynasty in India, Sher Shāh's family, hailing from the frontier, had lived within India for three generations. Further, the latter's equipment for kingship was exceptionally high, and he had achieved a good deal more than the mere conquest of territories.

4. The Successors of Sher Shāh

The Afghān Empire built up by Sher Shāh did not long survive his death. The disappearance of his strong personality, and the weakness of his successors, led to the recrudescence of jealousies and refractoriness among the Afghān nobles, which plunged the whole kingdom into a welter of anarchy and thus paved the way for Mughul restoration. On Sher Shāh's death, his second son, Jalāl Khān, who was then at Rewah, was proclaimed king under the title of Sultān Islām Shāh, commonly known as Salīm Shāh. Salīm strengthened his position against the intrigues of his brother and his supporters, by drastic measures. He maintained the efficiency of the army and most of his father's wise reforms. "His internal administration was excellent." But he died young in November, 1554, and disorders soon followed. His minor son, Fīrūz Khān, was murdered by his maternal uncle, Mubāriz Khān (son of Nizām Khān Sūr, Sher Shāh's brother, and brother of Fīrūz Khān's mother, Bibi Bāi), who seized the throne and assumed the title of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. 'Ādil Shāh being an indolent and worthless prince, Hīmū, a purely self-made man, who rose from the position of an ordinary Beniā of Rewārī in Mewāt to that of the chief minister of the Sūr monarch, tried to manage the affairs of the kingdom with tact; but the suspicious nature, and the follies, of his master frustrated his efforts with great prejudice to the interests of the decaying Afghān Empire. 'Ādil Shāh soon afterwards lost Bengal and Mālwa; his own relatives rebelled against him; and his authority was also challenged by two nephews of Sher Shāh, who asserted their claims to the throne.

5. Restoration of the Mughuls

This disturbed situation encouraged Humāyūn to attempt the restoration of his lost dominion after about fifteen years. He had been wandering from place to place in search of shelter and help. So intense was the jealousy of his brothers, especially of Kāmrān, that they showed him great unkindness even in these days of adversity, not to speak of their pooling their resources against the Afghāns. His attempts to find a rallying-ground in Sind also proved unsuccessful, because of the hostility of Shāh Husain, the governor of Sind, and the scarcity of provisions among his followers, whose numbers had been swelled by the influx of many fugitives. It was during his wanderings in the deserts of Sind that early in 1542 he married Hamīda Bānu Begam, daughter of Shaikh 'Ālī Ambar Jaini, who had been a preceptor to Humāyūn's brother Hindāl. The Rājput princes dared not afford him shelter. He went to Amarkot, the Hindu chief of which, Rānā Prasād by name, had promised help to conquer Thatta and Bhakkar, but he disappointed him in the end. It was here that his son Akbar was born on the 23rd November, 1542. Bhakkar could not be conquered by Humāyūn, who failed also to secure asylum with his brother Kāmrān. Thus driven from pillar to post, Humāyūn left India and threw himself on the generosity of Shāh Tahmāsp. The young ruler of Persia helped him with a force of 14,000 men on his promising to conform to the Shiah creed, to have the Shāh's name proclaimed in his *Khutba* and to cede Qandahār to him on his success. Thus Persian help, which had once facilitated the success of Bābur's eastern enterprise, now enabled his successor to recover his lost dominion. With it Humāyūn occupied Qandahār and Kābul in 1545. But Qandahār was not given to the Persians, and it proved henceforth to be a bone of contention between them and the Mughuls. Kāmrān was imprisoned, blinded and sent to Mecca, to which Humāyūn consented with the utmost reluctance, though his brother merited no lenient treatment in view of his past conduct. 'Askarī also proceeded to Mecca, but Hindāl fell dead in a night encounter.

Having overcome the hostility of his unkind brothers in the north-west, Humāyūn marched in November, 1554, to reconquer Hindustān, for which he got an excellent opportunity in the civil wars among the Sūrs. In February, 1555, he captured Lahore. After defeating Sikandar Sūr, the rebel governor of the Punjab, who had been proclaimed Emperor by the Afghāns, in a battle near Sirhind, he occupied Delhi and Āgra in the month of July of the same year.

Sikandar retired to the Siwālik Hills. Thus by a favourable turn of fortune, Humāyūn succeeded in recovering a part of what he had lost through his own weakness and indecision. But he did not live long enough to show if adversity had produced any wholesome effect on his character. He died on the 24th January, 1556, in consequence of an accidental fall from the staircase of his library at Delhi.

Akbar, who was then in the Punjab with his guardian Bairam, an old comrade of his father, was formally proclaimed on the 14th February, 1556, at the age of thirteen, as the successor of Humāyūn. But the Mughul supremacy over Hindustān was still far from being assured. As Smith writes, "before Akbar could become Pādshāh in reality as well as in name he had to prove himself better than the rival claimants to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominion". As a matter of fact, India in 1556 "presented a dark as well as a complex picture". While the country had ceased to enjoy the benefits of the reforms of Sher Shāh through the follies and quarrels of his successors, it was subjected at the same time to the horrors of a terrible famine. Further, each of the independent kingdoms in different parts of India was contending for power. In the north-west, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, Akbar's half-brother, governed Kābul almost independently. In the north, Kāshmīr was under a local Muhammadan dynasty and the Himālayan States were also independent. Sind and Multān had become free from imperial control after the death of Sher Shāh. Orissa, Mālwa and Gujarāt and the local chieftains of Gondwāna (in the modern Central Provinces) were independent of the control of any overlord. South of the Vindhyas lay the extensive Vijayanagar Empire, and the Muslim Sultānates of Khāndesh, Berar, Bīdar, Ahmadnagar, and Golkundā which felt little or no interest in northern politics. The Portuguese had established their influence on the western coast by the possession of Goa and Diu. Humāyūn had been able to recover only a small fragment of his territories in Hindustān before he died. The Sūrs were still in occupation of the greater portion of Sher Shāh's dominion. As Ahmad Yadgar tells us, "the country from Āgra to Mālwa, and the confines of Jaunpur, owned the sovereignty of 'Ādil Shāh; from Delhi to the smaller Rohtās on the road to Kābul, it was in the hands of Shāh Sikandar; and from the borders of the hills to the boundaries of Gujarāt, it belonged to Ibrāhīm Khān". As for the claims to the lordship of Hindustān, there was nothing to choose between Akbar and the representatives of Sher. These "could be decided", as Smith writes, "only by the sword". Thus Akbar's heritage was of a precarious nature, and

his task of building up an Empire was indeed a very difficult one.

Soon after Akbar's accession, Hīmū, the capable general and minister of 'Ādil Shāh Sūr, came forward to oppose the Mughuls. He first occupied Āgra and Delhi by defeating Tārdī Beg, the Mughul governor of Delhi, who was put to death under the orders of Bairam for his failure to defend Delhi. Having assumed the title of Rājā Vikramjit or Vikramāditya, Hīmū met Akbar and Bairam at the historic field of Pānīpat with a large army including 1,500 war elephants. He had initial successes against both the wings of the Mughul army, but the day was decided by a chance arrow which struck him in the eye. He lost consciousness, and his soldiers, deprived of their leader, dispersed in confusion. In this helpless condition, Hīmū was put to death, according to some, by Bairam, on the refusal of Akbar to kill him with his own hands, and, according to others, by Akbar himself at the instigation of his Protector.

The result of the second battle of Pānīpat was decisive. It brought to a close the Afghān-Mughul contest for supremacy in India by giving a verdict in favour of the latter. The victors soon occupied Delhi and Āgra. Sikandar Sūr surrendered himself to them in May, A.D. 1557, and was granted a fief in the eastern provinces, whence he was soon expelled by Akbar and died as a fugitive in Bengal (A.D. 1558–1559). Muhammad 'Ādil died (1556) fighting at Monghyr against the governor of Bengal. Ibrāhīm Sūr, after wandering from place to place, found asylum in Orissa, where he was killed about ten years later (A.D. 1567–1568). Thus there remained no Sūr rival to contest Akbar's claims to sovereignty over Hindustān. The later anti-Mughul Afghān risings, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were more or less too sporadic and local to be a serious menace to Mughul suzerainty.

CHAPTER II

AKBAR THE GREAT

1. End of the Regency

THE second battle of Pānīpat marked the real beginning of the Mughul Empire in India and set it on the path of expansion. Between 1558 and 1560 Gwālior, Ajmer and Jaunpur were incorporated into it. But Akbar, held in the trammels of tutelage by his guardian and Protector, Bairam Khān, was not yet free to act independently. The Protector had rendered valuable services to the Mughuls, but he had created many enemies by this time by using his power in a high-handed manner. Abul Fazl writes that "at length Bairam's proceedings went beyond all endurance". Akbar personally felt a desire to be king in fact as well as in name, and was also urged by his mother, Hamīda Bānu Begam, his foster-mother, Māham Anaga, and her son, Ādam Khān, to get rid of the regent. In 1560 the Emperor openly expressed before Bairam his determination to take the reins of government in his own hands and dismissed him. The Protector submitted to the decision of his master with apparent resignation and agreed to leave for Mecca. But when Akbar deputed Pīr Muhammad, a personal enemy and former subordinate of Bairam, to see his guardian out of the imperial domains, or as Badāūnī puts it, "to pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca", the latter, considering it to be an insult, rebelled. He was defeated near Jullundur, but Akbar was wise enough to treat him with generosity in consideration of his past services. On his way to Mecca, Bairam was stabbed to death in January, 1561, by a Lohānī Afghān, whose father had been killed on a previous occasion by the Mughul troops under the command of the Protector. Though the Afghāns plundered all that he had been carrying with him, his family escaped disgrace and his son, 'Abdur Rahīm, received Akbar's protection and rose later on to be one of the chief nobles of the Empire.

The fall of Bairam did not at once enable Akbar to assume fully the reins of government into his own hands. For two years more (A.D. 1560–1562), his foster-mother, Māham Anaga, her son, Ādam

Khān, and their relatives, exercised an undue influence in the State. Ādam Khān and Pīr Muhammad effected the conquest of Mālwa (1561) by methods which have been vividly described by Badāūnī, an eye-witness of their oppression; but they remained unpunished. Being at last impatient of their influence, Akbar caused the death of Ādam Khān. His mother died of grief after forty days. Thus by the month of May, 1562, Akbar was able to emancipate himself from harem influence.

2. Conquests and Annexations

A strong imperialist by instinct, Akbar followed a policy of conquest for the expansion of his empire until the capture of Asīrgarh in January, 1601. Unforeseen and uncontrollable circumstances prevented him from carrying it further. "A monarch", he held, "should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him." In fact, Akbar achieved the political unification of nearly the whole of Northern and Central India by frequent annexations extending over forty years. We have already noted how Mālwa was conquered by Ādam Khān and Pīr Muhammad in 1561, but its ruler, Bāz Bahādur, soon recovered it and did not submit to the Mughuls until some years later. In 1564 Akbar sent Āsaf Khān, governor of Karā and the eastern provinces, to conquer the kingdom of Garah Katanga (in Gondwāna), roughly corresponding to the northern districts of the Central Provinces. The reigning king of this tract, Bīr Nārāyan, was a minor, but it was ably governed by his mother, Durgāvatī, a Rājput lady of superb beauty and great valour. She gallantly opposed the imperialists but was defeated in a fight with them between Garah and Mandala (now in the Jubbulpore district). In the true Rājput spirit, she preferred death to disgrace and committed suicide. Thus "her end was as noble and devoted as her life had been useful". The young ruler, Bīr Nārāyan, fought in a chivalrous manner against his enemies till he lost his life. The invaders captured a vast booty. Āsaf Khān held the kingdom for some time, but it was subsequently made over to a representative of the old ruling family, who was compelled by the Mughuls to "part with that portion of his kingdom which now forms the kingdom of Bhopāl".

As we have already noted, the battle of Khānua (1527) did not result in the total eclipse of Rājput influence in the north. Rājputāna still formed a powerful factor in the history of India. Gifted with the true insight of a statesman and liberal in outlook, Akbar realised the value of Rājput alliance in his task of building up an Empire in

India for his dynasty, which was a foreign one, at the cost of the Afghāns, who were the "children of the soil". Thus he tried, as far as possible, to conciliate the Rājputs and secure and ensure their active co-operation in almost all his activities. By his wise and liberal policy, he won the hearts of most of them to such an extent that they rendered valuable services to his empire and even shed their blood for it. The Empire of Akbar was, in fact, the outcome of the co-ordination of Mughul prowess and diplomacy and Rājput valour and service. In 1562, Rājā Bihārī Mall, of Amber (Jaipur), tendered his submission to Akbar and cemented his friendship with him by a marriage alliance. Bihārī Mall, with his son, Bhagwān Dās and grandson, Mān Singh, proceeded to Āgra. He was given a command of 5,000 and his son and grandson were also admitted to high rank in the army. Thus was opened the way through which the Mughul Emperors were able to secure for four generations "the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced".

But Mewār, where the Rājput spirit had manifested itself "in its very quintessence", which had been provided with excellent means of defence in its steep mountains and strong castles, and which had contested with Bābur the supremacy of Northern India, did not bow its head in obedience to the Mughul Emperor. It offended him by giving shelter to Bāz Bahādur, the fugitive ruler of Mālwa. Its independence was, however, galling to Akbar, who cherished the ideal of an all-India empire, the economic interests of which also demanded a control over Mewār, through which lay the highways of commerce between the Ganges–Jumnā Doāb and the western coast. The ambitious design of Akbar was facilitated by the prevalence of internal discord in Mewār, following the death of Rānā Sanga, and by the weakness of Udai Singh, the unworthy son of a noble sire. "Well had it been for Mewār," exclaims Tod, "had the annals of Mewār never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of her princes." When Akbar besieged the fort of Chitor in October, 1567, Udai Singh fled to the hills, leaving his capital to its fate. But there were some brave followers of the Rānā, notably Jaimall and Patta, who offered a stubborn opposition to the imperialists for four months (20th October, 1567, to 23rd February, 1568) till Jaimall was killed by a musket-shot fired by Akbar himself. Patta also fell dead later. The death of the leaders of the defence disheartened the besieged garrison, who rushed on their enemies sword in hand and fought bravely till they perished to a man. The Rājput women performed the rite of *Jauhar*. Akbar then stormed the fort of Chitor. According to

Abul Fazl 30,000 persons were slain, but the figure seems to be highly exaggerated. Akbar's wrath fell also upon what Tod calls "the symbols of regality". Thus he removed the huge kettledrums (eight or ten feet in diameter, the reverberation of which proclaimed for miles around the entrance and exit of the princes from the gates of Chitor) and also the massive candelabra from the shrine of the Great Mother of Chitor, to Āgra.

Struck with terror at the fall of Chitor, the other Rājput chiefs, who had so long defied Akbar, submitted to him. In February, 1569, Rāi Surjana Hara of Ranthambhor surrendered to Akbar the keys of his fortress and entered into the imperial service. Rājā Rāmchānd, the chief of Kālinjar in Bundelkhand, followed suit in the same year. The occupation of Kālinjar greatly strengthened Akbar's military position and marks an important step in the progress of Mughul imperialism. In 1570 the rulers of Bikāner and Jaisalmer not only submitted to the Mughul Emperor but also gave their daughters in marriage to him.

Thus, one by one, the Rājput chiefs acknowledged Mughul sway, but Mewār still refused to own it. Udai Singh retained his independence though he had lost his ancestral capital. After his death on the 3rd March, 1572, at Gogundā, situated about nineteen miles north-west of Udaipur, Mewār found a true patriot and leader in his son Pratāp, who, being in every respect faithful to the traditions of his country, offered uncompromising resistance to the invaders. The magnitude of his task can be well understood when we note that without a capital, and with only slender resources, he had to oppose the organised strength of the Mughul Emperor, who was then "immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth". Further, his fellow chiefs and neighbours and even his own brother, devoid of the high Rājput ideals of chivalry and independence, had allied themselves with the Mughuls. But no obstacle was too alarming for this national hero of Rājputāna, who was made of nobler stuff than his relatives. "The magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pratāp, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk resplendent,' and he amply redeemed his pledge." The inevitable imperial invasion of his territory took place in April, 1576, under a body of troops commanded by Mān Singh of Amber and Āsaf Khān, and a furious battle was fought at the pass of Haldighāt near Gogundā. Pratāp was defeated, and barely escaped with his life, which was saved by the selfless devotion of the chief of Jhāla, who drew upon himself the attack of the imperialists by declaring himself to be the Rānā. Mounted on his

beloved horse "*Chaitak*", the Rānā betook himself to the hills, and his strongholds were captured by his enemies one by one. But Pratāp could not think of submission even in the midst of the direst adversity. Hunted from rock to rock by his implacable enemy, and "feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills", he continued the war with undaunted spirit and energy and had the satisfaction of recovering many of his strongholds before he died on the 19th January, 1597, at the age of fifty-seven. The Rājput patriot was anxious for his motherland even at his last moment, for he had no faith in his son; and before he expired, he exacted from his chiefs "a pledge that his country should not be abandoned to the Turks". "Thus closed the life of a Rājput whose memory," observes Tod, "is even now idolized by every Sisodiā." "Had Mewār," he adds, "possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor the retreat of the 'Ten Thousand' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the historic muse than the deeds of this brilliant reign amid the many vicissitudes of Mewār. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that sincerity which 'keeps honour bright', perseverance—with fidelity such as no nation can boast of, were the materials opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind." Pratāp's is indeed an inspiring personality in Indian history. The Rājputs have produced abler generals and more astute statesmen than Pratāp, but not more brave and noble patriotic leaders than he. Pratāp's son, Amar Singh, tried to carry out the behest of his father but was attacked by a Mughul army under Mān Singh in 1599 and was defeated after a gallant resistance. Akbar could not undertake any other invasion of Mewār owing to illness.

After annexing Ranthambhor and Kālinjar in A.D. 1569, the Mughuls subjugated Gujarāt. With rich and flourishing ports on its coasts, Gujarāt had an attractive commercial position and a special economic advantage. Its possession had therefore been coveted by the preceding rulers of Delhi, even by Humāyūn, whose occupation of it was, however, temporary. But Akbar must have realised the importance of occupying this province for the interests of his Empire, and the prevailing distracted condition of Gujarāt under its nominal king, Muzaffar Shāh III, gave him an excellent opportunity for it. As a matter of fact, his intervention being sought by I'timād Khān, the leader of a local faction, had some justification. In 1572 Akbar marched in person against Gujarāt, defeated all opposition and pensioned off the puppet

king. He captured Surāt on the 26th February, 1573, after besieging it for a month and a half, and the Portuguese, who came in touch with him on this occasion, courted his friendship. But no sooner had he reached his headquarters at Fathpur Sīkrī than insurrections broke out in the newly conquered province, in which some of his own cousins took part. Highly enraged at this, Akbar marched hurriedly to Ahmadābād, having traversed six hundred miles in eleven days, and thoroughly vanquished the insurgents in a battle near Ahmadābād on the 2nd September, 1573. Gujarāt thus came under Akbar's authority and became henceforth an integral part of his Empire. It turned out to be one of its profitable sources of income, chiefly through the reorganisation of its finances and revenues by Todar Mal, whose work in that province was ably carried on by Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad from 1577 to 1583 or 1584. "The conquest of Gujarāt," remarks Dr. Smith, "marks an important epoch in Akbar's history." Besides placing its resources at the disposal of the Empire, it secured for it free access to the sea and brought it in contact with the Portuguese, which in some ways influenced the history of India. But the Mughuls made no attempt to build up any sea-power and their shortsightedness in this direction helped the intrusion of the European traders.

The more important province of Bengal was next conquered by the Mughuls. The Sūr kings made themselves independent in Bengal during the short and stormy reign of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and ruled it till 1564, when, taking advantage of the disorders following the murder of the reigning young king, Sulaimān Kararānī, governor of South Bihār, extended his authority over Bengal also. Till his death in A.D. 1572, Sulaimān formally recognised the overlordship of Akbar and maintained friendly relations with him. He transferred his capital from Gaur to Tāndā and annexed the Hindu kingdom of Orissa. But his son, Dāūd, who, according to the author of the *Tabaqāt*, "knew nothing of the art of government", soon "forsook the prudent measures of his father". He incurred the Emperor's resentment not only by proclaiming his independence but also by attacking the outpost of Zamāniā on the eastern frontier of the Empire (situated in the Ghāzīpur district of U.P.). In 1574 Akbar himself marched against the presumptuous governor of Bengal and expelled him from Patna and Hājīpur during the rainy season. He returned to Fathpur Sīkrī, leaving Mun'im Khān in charge of the Bengal campaign. Dāūd retreated towards Orissa and was defeated by the Mughul troops at Tukaroi near the eastern bank of the Suvarnarekhā on the 3rd March, 1575. But this battle had no

decisive result owing to the ill-advised leniency of Mun'im Khān towards the vanquished foe, who was consequently able to strike once more to recover Bengal in October, 1575. This necessitated another campaign against Dāūd, who was finally defeated and killed in a battle, near Rājmahal, in July, 1576. Bengal henceforth became an integral part of the Mughul Empire. But the weak policy of the imperial governor, Muzaffar Khān Turbatī, who was "harsh in his measures and offensive in his speech", gave rise to fresh troubles in that province. Further, the authority of the Emperor continued to be long resisted there by some powerful Bengal chiefs, the most important of whom were 'Isā Khān of East Central Dacca and Mymensingh, Kedār Rāi of Vikrampur, Kandarpanārāyan of Chandradvīpa (Bakarganj) and Pratāpāditya of Jessore. Orissa was finally annexed to the Empire in 1592.

In the meanwhile, Akbar had to face a critical situation due to the sinister motives of his step-brother, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, who governed Kābul as an independent ruler for all practical purposes. In conspiracy with some nobles of the eastern provinces, and some discontented officers of the court, like Khwāja Mansūr, the *Diwān* of the Empire, and others, he cherished the ambition of seizing the throne of Hindustān for himself and even invaded the Punjab. Considering it inadvisable to ignore any longer his intrigues and movements, Akbar marched from his capital on the 8th February, 1581, towards Afghānistān with about 50,000 cavalry, 500 elephants and a large number of infantry. Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, on hearing of the Emperor's advance, fled from the Punjab to Kābul without offering any opposition to his brother. The Emperor thereupon entered Kābul on the 9th August, 1581. Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm was defeated, but was restored to the government of his province on taking a vow of fidelity to the Emperor, who returned to Delhi early in December, 1581. The victory at Kābul brought immense relief to Akbar. It gave him, writes Smith, "an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career". Kābul was formally annexed to the Delhi empire after the death of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm in July, 1585.

3. The North-West Frontier.

Every government in India has to deal with the complex north-west frontier problem. This region occupies a position of strategic as well as economic importance, and it is, therefore, highly necessary for a ruler of India to maintain effective control over it. The

Hindukush range, separating Central Asia from Southern Afghānistān, Baluchistān and India, becomes "much less forbidding" in the north of Herāt, and through this vulnerable point an external invader from Persia or Central Asia may easily enter the Kābul Valley and India. As the master of Kābul, the Mughul Emperor "must hold Qandahār or his dominion is unsafe. In an age when Kābul was a part of the Delhi Empire, Qandahār was our indispensable first line of defence". Qandahār was also an important trade centre, where merchants from different parts of Asia flocked together and exchanged their commodities. Through it goods were carried from India to other Asiatic countries more frequently than before, owing to the Portuguese domination of the Red Sea and their hostile relations with Persia. Further, the turbulent Afghān tribes of the frontier, such as the Uzbegs and the Yūsufzāīs, were "very dangerous in their native hills, being democratic to a degree and fanatically attached to their liberty. Fighting in the fastnesses of their country which afford the best of natural defences, they . . . ever resisted any attempts to bring them into subjugation to any of the adjoining monarchies". Their attitude towards the Mughul Empire was far from friendly, but an imperialist like Akbar could hardly fail to realise the importance of effectively guarding this frontier. He was able to suppress the turbulence of the Uzbegs, whose leader, 'Abdullah Khān, remained friendly to the Mughul Emperor, and also to defeat the Roshniyās.[1] The Yūsufzāīs, too, were crushingly defeated by a large Mughul army commanded by Rājā Todar Mall and Prince Murād. Abul Fazl writes: "A large number of them were killed and many were sold into Turān and Persia. The countries of Sawad (Swāt), Bājaur and Buner, which have few equals for climate, fruits and cheapness of food, were cleansed of the evil-doers." Bhagwān Dās and Kāsīm Khān being deputed at the head of 5,000 men to conquer Kāshmīr, defeated its Sultān, Yūsuf Shāh, and his son, Ya'qūb, in 1586. Kāshmīr was then annexed to the Empire. Sind and Baluchistān were conquered in 1590–1591 and 1595 respectively. Qandahār came into the possession of Akbar peacefully. Being harassed by his own relatives and also by the Uzbegs, the Persian governor of Qandahār, Muzaffar Husain Mīrzā, surrendered it to Akbar's

[1] The Roshniyās were the followers of Bāyazīd, who "had been preaching a special form of Muhammadanism in which communism on the one hand and the destruction of the enemies of Islam on the other, seem to have been two of the leading features. Add to this his suggestion that he was the Mehdi (the Messiah) to come and we have all the elements of religious explosion". Kennedy, *History of the Great Moghuls*, p. 27.

representative, Shāh Beg, in A.D. 1595. Thus as a result of Akbar's policy in the north-west, important territories were added to his empire, its position was made secure on that frontier, and its prestige was immensely enhanced. By the year 1595 he made himself undisputed ruler of the area extending from the Himālayas to the Narmadā and from Hindukush to the Brahmaputra, with the exception of a narrow strip of tribal area beyond the Indus and a few other tracts.

4. Akbar and the Deccan

Having thus consolidated his authority over Northern and Central India, Akbar decided to extend his sovereignty to the Deccan. In this he was but following the traditional policy of earlier northern imperial governments, like those of the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Khaljīs and the Tughluqs. He had two definite objects in view. Firstly, with the ideal of an all-India Empire, he naturally sought to bring the Deccan Sultānates, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur, Golkundā and Khāndesh, under his hegemony. Secondly, as a shrewd statesman, he wanted to utilise his control over the Deccan as a means of pushing back the Portuguese to the sea, because though his relations with them were apparently friendly, he did not think it wise to allow them to enjoy for themselves a part of the economic resources of the country and interfere in its politics. Thus Akbar's Deccan policy was purely imperialistic in origin and outlook. It was not influenced in the least by religious considerations as was the case, to a certain extent, with Shāh Jahān or Aurangzeb.

The Deccan Sultānates were not in a position to defend themselves against the onrush of Mughul imperialism, as they had almost exhausted their strength and sunk into inefficiency by indulging in quarrels among themselves after their temporary alliance against Vijayanagar in A.D. 1564–1565. Akbar first tried to extort from them a formal acknowledgment of his suzerainty over the Deccan by sending ambassadors to their respective courts in 1591. But all, except Khāndesh, returned evasive answers to his overtures. The failure of diplomatic missions led him to resort to arms. A large army under Bairam Khān's son, 'Abdur Rahīm, and the Emperor's second son, Prince Murād, was sent against Ahmadnagar, which had been weakened by internal quarrels. Though the operations of the Mughul army were much hampered, as its two generals did not pull well with each other, Ahmadnagar was besieged by it in 1595. The city was defended with splendid courage

and extraordinary resolution by Chānd Bibi, a dowager-queen of Bijāpur and daughter of Husain Nizām Shāh. The besiegers concluded a treaty with Chānd Bibi in 1596 whereby Berar was ceded to the Mughuls and the boy king of Ahmadnagar promised to recognise the overlordship of Akbar. But after the departure of the Mughuls, Chānd Bibi "resigned her authority", and a faction at Ahmadnagar, in violation of the treaty, contrary to her will and advice, renewed the war with the Mughuls in the next year with a view to expelling them from Berar. The Mughuls gained a victory over the Deccanis at Sūpa near Ashti on the Godāvarī in February, 1597. Internal dissensions prevailed in Ahmadnagar, and Chānd Bibi being either "murdered or constrained to take poison", the city was stormed without difficulty by the imperialists in August, 1600. But the kingdom was not finally annexed to the Empire till the reign of Shāh Jahān.

Miān Bahādur Shāh, a ruler of Khāndesh, refused to submit to the imperial authority. Akbar, relieved of the danger of Uzbeg invasion after the death of 'Abdullah Khān in 1598, marched to the south in July, 1599. He soon captured Burhānpur, the capital of Khāndesh, and easily laid siege to the mighty fortress of Asīrgarh, than which "it was impossible to conceive a stronger fortress, or one more amply supplied with artillery, warlike stores and provisions". The besieged garrison, though greatly weakened owing to the outbreak of a terrible pestilence which swept off many of them, defended the fortress for six months, when Akbar hastened to achieve his end by subtle means. Unwilling to prolong the siege as his son Salīm had rebelled against him, the Emperor inveigled Miān Bahādur Shāh into his camp to negotiate for a treaty, on promise of personal safety, but detained him there and forced him to write a letter to the garrison with instructions to surrender the fort. The garrison, however, still held out. Akbar next seduced the Khāndesh officers by lavish distribution of money among them, and thus the gates of Asīrgarh "were opened by golden keys". This was the last conquest of Akbar.

Having organised the newly-conquered territories into three *subahs* of Ahmadnagar, Berar and Khāndesh, and appointed Prince Dāniyāl viceroy of Southern and Western India, that is to say, of the three Deccan *subahs* with Mālwa and Gujarāt, Akbar returned to Āgra in May, 1601, to deal with the rebellious Salīm. The Deccan campaigns of Akbar resulted in pushing the Mughul frontier from the Narmadā to the upper courses of the Kṛishṇā river (called here the Bhīmā). But "the annexation was in form only. The new territory was too large to be effectively governed

or even fully conquered. Everywhere, especially in the south and the west, local officers of the old dynasty refused to obey the conqueror, or began to set up puppet princes as a screen for their self-assertion. The Sultāns of Bijāpur and Golkundā seized the adjacent districts of their fallen neighbours".

5. The Last Days of Akbar

The last days of Akbar were rendered unhappy by grief and anguish. His beloved friend and poet, Faizī, passed away in 1595. In eagerness to seize the throne, Salīm set himself up as an independent king at Allahābād and entered into intrigues with the Portuguese to achieve his end. In 1602 he further wounded his father's feelings by causing Abul Fazl, a close friend of the Emperor's, to be put to death on his way back from the Deccan. In 1603 a temporary reconciliation was effected between father and son through the mediation of Sultānā Salīmā Begam. But Salīm again proceeded to Allahābād and began to act in a highly objectionable manner. Meanwhile Khān-i-A'zam, Rājā Mān Singh and some other nobles of the court, plotted to secure the succession for Salīm's son, Khusrav. But their scheme failed owing to the opposition of other nobles. The other sons of Akbar had already died. Salīm, the only surviving son of Akbar, became reconciled to his father after the removal of all the rival claimants. Akbar treated him like a petulant child, rebuked him severely, and confined him for some time before pardoning him in November, 1604. But Akbar's end was drawing near. He was attacked by severe diarrhoea or dysentery in the autumn of 1605 and died on the 17th October.

6. Akbar's Religion

The sublimity of Akbar's conceptions, and the catholicity of his temperament and ideals, were moulded by various influences. Firstly, the influence of his heredity "endowed him with those qualities of head and heart that prepared him to receive the impress of his environments, and reflect it in the best possible way". In spite of their being conquerors, Tīmūr and his descendants were lovers of art and literature and rose above religious orthodoxy, largely owing to their contact with Sūfīsm. Akbar's mother, the daughter of a Persian scholar, sowed in his mind the seeds of toleration. Secondly, Akbar's early contact with Sūfīsm, during his stay in the court of Kābul, where many Sūfī saints had fled away from Persia under the pressure of Safavī persecution, and

subsequently the influence of his tutor, 'Abdul Latīf, impressed upon his mind the worth of liberal and sublime ideas and made him eager to "attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality". Lastly, his Rājput wives and his contact with Hinduism, and the reformation movements of his time, made an impression on his imaginative mind. Thus, "intelligent to an uncommon degree, with a mind alert and inquisitive, he was best fitted by birth, upbringing and association to feel most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. He was not only the child of his century, he was its best replica". It might be that Akbar's political aim of establishing an all-India Mughul Empire had some influence on his religious policy, as political factors largely influenced the religious settlement of his English contemporary, Queen Elizabeth. But there is no doubt that he had a yearning after truth and often "tempests of feeling had broken over Akbar's soul". We are told even by the hostile critic Badāūnī that "he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building near the (Fathpur) palace in a lonely spot with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours". The conflicts of the different religious sects shocked his soul, and he devoted himself "to the evolution of a new religion, which would, he hoped, prove to be a synthesis of all the warring creeds and capable of uniting the discordant elements of his vast empire in one harmonious whole".

Akbar observed the external forms of the Sunnī faith until 1575, when his association with Shaikh Mubārak and his two sons, Faizī and Abul Fazl, produced a change in his views. He then caused a building to be constructed at Fathpur Sīkrī, called the *'Ibādat-Khāna* or the House of Worship, with a view to discussing philosophical and theological questions. He first summoned there the learned divines of Islam, but their discussions soon took the shape of "vulgar rancour, morbid orthodoxy and personal attacks" and they could not reply to some of the queries of Akbar to his satisfaction. In fact, their petty wranglings, of which Badāūnī gives a graphic picture, failed to satisfy his inquisitive soul, and led him to seek truth elsewhere. He therefore called to the *'Ibādat-Khāna* the wise men of different religions and sects, notably Hindu philosophers like Purushottama, Devī and some others; some Jaina teachers, the most prominent of them being Hari Vijaya Surī, Vijaya Sen Surī and Bhānuchandra Upādhāyya; and Parsī priests and Christian missionaries from Goa. He patiently attended to the arguments of the exponents of each faith, and

"went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable grounds for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jaina, or a Christian". But he was not converted to any of these faiths, and there is no reason to exaggerate the influence of Christianity over him more than that of any other religion. It seems that being dissatisfied with the bitter controversies of the Muslim divines, he was prompted to study "other religions by means of discourses and debates, which eventually resulted in his eclecticism" and in the promulgation of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. It was a new religion, "compounded", as the Jesuit writer Bartoli says, "out of various elements, taken partly from the Koran of Muhammad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmans, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose, from the Gospel of Christ". A firm believer in the policy of universal toleration, Akbar made no attempt to force his religion on others with the zeal of a convert or a religious fanatic, but appealed to the inner feelings of men.

Akbar's conception of universal toleration was indeed a noble one, and is a brilliant testimony to his national idealism. Relying on the evidence of Badāūnī, an uncompromising critic of Akbar, and on the writings of the Jesuits, who must have been dissatisfied with the Emperor for their failure to convert him to their faith, Smith wrongly remarks that "the Divine Faith was a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom. The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy". Von Noer, the German historian of Akbar, gives a correct estimate of the Divine Faith when he writes: "Badaoni certainly takes every opportunity of raking up the notion of Akbar's apotheosis for the purpose of renewing attacks upon the great emperor. He, however, was never in intimate relation to the Dīn-i-Ilāhī; he repeats his misconceptions current among the populace, marred and alloyed by popular modes of perception. Akbar might justly have contemplated the acts of his reign with legitimate pride, but many incidents of his life prove him to have been among the most modest of men. It was the people who made a God of the man who was the founder and head of an order at once political, philosophic and religious. One of his creations will assure to him for all time a pre-eminent place among the benefactors of humanity—greatness and universal tolerance in matters of religion."

Akbar has been charged by Badāūnī, and the Jesuit writers, with having renounced Islam in his later years. It is, of course, true that, with a view to commanding the "indivisible allegiance of his subjects", Akbar sought to check the undue influence of the

Ulemas, who, like the Popes in medieval Europe, exerted "a parallel claim to the obedience of the people"; and proceeded, step by step, to establish his position as the supreme head of the Church (*Imām-i-'Ādil*). Thus in June, 1579, he removed the chief preacher at Fathpur Sīkrī and read the *Khutba* in his own name, and in September, 1579, he issued the so-called Infallibility Decree, which made him the supreme arbiter in matters of religion. This must have caused profound resentment among the *Ulemas* and their supporters, but Akbar remained fearless. "He did not mean to assume the spiritual leadership of the nation without having spiritual attainments. . . . From start to finish, from ascending the pulpit at Fathpur Sīkrī to the propagation of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, Akbar was intensely sincere." It is unfair to denounce a man of such rational and liberal sentiments as having contempt for other religions or being an enemy of any of these. He never denied the authority of the Quran, not even in the so-called Infallibility Decree. His ideal was a grand synthesis of all that he considered to be the best in different religions—an ideal essentially national, for which he is justly entitled to the gratitude of posterity.

7. Personality of Akbar

An intrepid soldier, a benevolent and wise ruler, a man of enlightened ideas, and a sound judge of character, Akbar occupies a unique position in the history of India. We know from Abul Fazl, and even from the hostile critic Badāūnī, that he had a commanding personality and looked every inch a king. Jahāngīr remarks in his *Memoirs* that his father "in his actions and movements was not like the people of the world, and the glory of God manifested itself in him". Like other princes of the house of Tīmūr, Akbar was endowed with remarkable courage and uncommon physical strength. He was fearless in the chase as well as in the fields of battle, and, "like Alexander of Macedon, was always ready to risk his life, regardless of political consequences". He often plunged his horse into the full-flooded rivers during the rainy season and safely crossed over to the other side. Though a mighty conqueror, he did not usually indulge in cruelty for its own sake. Affectionate towards his relatives, he was not revengeful without cause, and his behaviour towards his brother, Hakīm, shows that he could pardon a repentant rebel. On some rare occasions his temper got the upper hand and then the culprits were summarily dealt with, as is shown by his behaviour towards his maternal uncle, Mu'azzam, and his foster-brother, Ādam Khān. But he usually maintained perfect

self-control. His manners were exceedingly charming and his address pleasant, for which he has been highly praised by all who came in contact with him. He was able to win the love and reverence of his subjects, who considered the Ruler of Delhi to be the Lord of the Universe. Extremely moderate in his diet, he was fond of fruit and had little liking for meat, which he ceased to take altogether in his later years.

Though Akbar probably did not learn how to read and write,[1] he was not uncultured. Possessed of a fine literary taste, a profound intellectual curiosity and a marvellous memory, he took interest in the different branches of learning, such as philosophy, theology, history, and politics. He maintained a library full of books on various subjects, and was fond of the society of scholars, poets and philosophers, who read books to him aloud, and thus enabled him to be conversant with Sūfī, Christian, Zoroastrian, Hindu and Jaina literature. Smith writes that "anybody who heard him arguing with acuteness and lucidity on a subject of debate would have credited him with wide literary knowledge and profound erudition and never would have suspected him of illiteracy". He possessed also a fair taste for art, architecture and mechanical works, and is credited with many inventions and improvements in the manufacture of matchlocks. Gifted with indomitable energy and indefatigable industry, he erected a vast administrative machinery on a comprehensive plan, which will be described in a subsequent chapter. He looked, as we know from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, "upon the smallest details as mirrors capable of reflecting a comprehensive outline".

Though ambitious of territorial conquests, through which the limits of the Mughul Empire were extended almost to the furthest limits of Northern India, Akbar was not a selfish and unbridled autocrat. He did not ignore the feelings of the conquered and trample on their rights and privileges with an eye only to self-interest. His ideal of kingship was high. "Upon the conduct of the monarch," said he, "depends the efficiency of any course of action. His gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in his just government and due recognition of merit; that of his people in obedience and praises." Endowed with the farsightedness of a genius, he built the political structure of the Mughul Empire, and its administrative system, on the co-operation and goodwill of all his subjects. He truly realised the unsoundness of ill-treating the Hindus, who formed the overwhelming majority of

[1] Some writers are now trying to prove Akbar's literacy. *Vide Liberty*, 30th December, 1931, and *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December 1940.

the population, or of relegating them permanently to a position of inequality and humiliation. This shows the transcendental ability of Akbar as a statesman. He not only meted out fair treatment to the Hindus and appointed them to high posts, as Sher Shāh and his successors had done, but also tried to remove all invidious distinctions between the Muslims and non-Muslims. Thus he abolished the pilgrim tax in the eighth year and the *jizya* in the ninth year of his reign, and inaugurated a policy of universal toleration. In fact, he chalked out a rational path for anyone who would aspire to the position of a national ruler of India.

Akbar tried to introduce humane social reforms. He was a patron of art and literature. All this will be described in subsequent chapters. From all points of view his reign forms one of the most brilliant periods in the history of India. Akbar, remarks Smith, "was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to be one :the mightiest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements".

CHAPTER III

JAHĀNGĪR AND SHĀH JAHĀN

1. Jahāngīr

A WEEK after Akbar's death, Salīm succeeded to the throne at Āgra at the age of thirty-six and assumed the title of Nūr-ud-dīn Muhammad Jahāngīr Pādshāh Ghāzī. Though fond of pleasure he was not absolutely devoid of military ambition, and dreamt of conquering Transoxiana, the seat of government of the early Tīmūrīds. Soon after his accession, he tried, in the words of Asad, "to win the hearts of all the people" by various measures. He granted a general amnesty to his opponents, released prisoners, set up the famous chain of justice between the Shāhburjī in the fort of Āgra and a stone pillar fixed on the banks of the Jumnā, and promulgated twelve edicts, which were ordered to be observed as rules of conduct in his kingdom:—

1. Prohibition of cesses (*zakāt*).
2. Regulations about highway robbery and theft.
3. Free inheritance of property of deceased persons.
4. Prohibition of the sale of wine and of all kinds of intoxicating liquor.
5. Prohibition of seizure of houses and of cutting off the noses and ears of criminals.
6. Prohibition of forcible seizure of property (*Ghasbi*).
7. Building of hospitals and appointment of physicians to attend the sick.
8. Prohibition of the slaughter of animals on certain days.
9. Respect paid to Sunday.
10. General confirmation of *mansabs* and *jāgīrs*.
11. Confirmation of *aimā*[1] lands.
12. Amnesty to all prisoners in forts and in prisons of every kind.

These edicts do not seem to have had very great practical effect. The few changes that Jahāngīr now effected in the offices of the State were intended to secure him a band of supporters. He

[1] Described in the *Waqiāt-i-Jahāngīrī* as "lands devoted to the purposes of prayer and praise".

rewarded Bīr Singh Bundelā, the murderer of Abul Fazl, with the dignity of a commander of 3,000 horse, while 'Abdur Rahamān, the son of the victim, and Mahā Singh, son of Mān Singh, were elevated only to the rank of a commander of 2,000. Mīrzā Ghiyās Beg, a Persian adventurer and father of Nūr Jahān, who was destined to be famous under the title of I'timād-ud-daulah, was raised to the rank of a commander of 1,500.

The "early pleasant dreams" of Jahāngīr were soon rudely disturbed by the rebellion of his eldest son, Khusrav, whose relations with his father had been far from friendly since the closing years of Akbar's reign. Enjoying the kindness and favour of his grandfather, Khusrav was the most popular prince in the Empire, having many influential supporters like his maternal uncle, Mān Singh, and his father-in-law, Khān-i-A'zam 'Azīz Koka, foster-brother of Akbar. Five months after Jahāngīr's accession, he left Āgra, fled to the Punjab and rose in rebellion. Jahāngīr marched without delay against his son with a large army. He was so greatly perturbed that he even forgot to take his daily dose of opium on the first morning of his march. The Prince's troops were easily defeated by the imperial forces near Jullundur and he was captured with his principal followers, Husain Beg and 'Abdul 'Azīz, while attempting to cross the Chenāb with a view to proceeding to Kābul. He was brought before his father with "his hands bound and a chain on his leg" in open *darbār*, and after being severely reproached was ordered to be imprisoned. His supporters were subjected to cruel punishments.[1] The captive Prince was destined to suffer more till he met his doom in 1622. Khusrav and his nephew, Dārā Shukoh, are two pathetic figures in Mughul history.

The fifth Sikh Guru, Arjan, was sentenced to death,[2] and all his property was confiscated by the Emperor. Apparently the charge against him was that he had helped the rebel prince Khusrav with a sum of money, and some writers believe that the Guru suffered the "penalty for high treason and contumacy". But Jahāngīr's own *Memoirs* make it clear that the Emperor was not guided by purely political considerations. The unfortunate prince whom the Guru helped was, in the words of Terry, "a gentleman of a very lovely presence and fine carriage, exceedingly beloved of the common people . . . the very love and delight

[1] Jahāngīr himself writes: "I gave Khusrav into custody and I ordered these two villains (Husain Beg and 'Abdul 'Azīz) to be enclosed in the skins of a cow and an ass, and to be placed on asses, face to the tail, and so to be paraded round the city." Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 300.

[2] His tomb is situated just outside the Fort of Lahore.

of them all".[1] The Guru's conduct may have been due to his charitable and holy disposition, and need not indicate any hostile intention towards the Emperor personally. The Guru himself justified his action on the grounds of his *dharma* and gratitude for the past favours of Akbar "and not because he was in opposition" to the Emperor Jahāngīr. The execution of the Sikh divine was an impolitic step on the part of Jahāngīr, as it estranged the Sikhs, till then a peace-loving community, and turned them into foes of the Empire.

In May, 1611, Jahāngīr married Nūr Jahān, originally known as Mihr-un-nisa, who considerably influenced his career and reign. Modern researches have discarded the many romantic legends about Mihr-un-nisa's birth and early life and have proved the reliability of the brief account of Mu'tamīd Khān, the author of *Iqbāl-Nāmā-i-Jahāngīrī*. According to it, Mihr-un-nisa was the daughter of a Persian immigrant, Mīrzā Ghiyās Beg, who came to India with his children and wife in the reign of Akbar. She was born on the way to India at Qandahār. Her father rose to high positions during the reigns of Akbar and his son. She was married, at the age of seventeen, to 'Ālī Qulī Beg Istajhī, another Persian adventurer, who in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign received the *jāgīr* of Burdwān in Bengal and the title of Sher-afghān. When Jahāngīr heard that Sher-afghān had grown "insubordinate and disposed to rebellions", he sent in A.D. 1607 his foster-brother, Qutb-ud-dīn, the new governor of Bengal, who was to the Emperor "in the place of a dear son, a kind brother, and a congenial friend", to chastise him. An affray took place between Sher-afghān and Qutb-ud-dīn at Burdwān, in course of which the latter was killed. Sher-afghān was, in his turn, hacked to pieces by the followers of Qutb-ud-dīn, and Mihr-un-nisa was taken to the court with her young daughter. After four years, Mihr-un-nisa's charming "appearance caught the king's far-seeing eye and so captivated him" that he married her, and made her his chief queen. The Emperor, who styled himself Nūr-ud-dīn, conferred on his new consort the title of Nūr Mahal (Light of the Palace), which was soon changed to Nūr Jahān (Light of the World). It is sometimes said that Jahāngīr had been in love with Mihr-un-nisa "when she was still a maiden, during the life-time of Akbar", and that his infatuation for her cost Sher-afghān his life. The truth of this opinion has recently been questioned on the ground that the contemporary Indian historians, and some

[1] Terry, *Voyage to East India*, p. 411. Terry, Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, met Khusrav several times.

European travellers, are silent about it and it was invented by later writers. But the cause of Mihr-un-nisa being brought to the court, and not to her father, who held an important post in the Empire, has not been explained. That Jahāngīr was not above the habit of having secret love affairs with the ladies of the court is proved by the case of Ānarkalī, for whom he raised in 1615 a beautiful marble tomb[1] at Lahore, bearing the passionate inscription: "Ah! Could I behold the face of my beloved once more, I would thank God until the day of resurrection."

Nūr Jahān was indeed possessed of exquisite beauty, a fine taste for Persian literature, poetry and arts, "a piercing intellect, a versatile temper, and sound common sense". But the most dominating trait of her character was her inordinate ambition, which led her to establish an unlimited ascendancy over her husband. Her father, I'timād-ud-daulāh, and brother, Āsaf Khān, became prominent nobles of the court, and she further strengthened her position by marrying her daughter by her first husband to Jahāngīr's youngest son, Prince Shahryār.

The early part of Jahāngīr's reign witnessed some important military successes. Attention was first directed towards Bengal, the annexation of which had not yet put an end to the Afghān opposition there. The frequent change of governors in Bengal encouraged the local Afghāns to rebel under 'Usmān Khān during the governorship of Islām Khān, who was, however, a capable man and took prompt measures to suppress the rebellion. The Afghāns were defeated by the imperialists on the 12th March, 1612, and their leader, 'Usmān Khān, died from the effect of a severe wound in the head. The political power of the Afghāns, so long opposed to the Mughuls, came to an end, and Jahāngīr's conciliatory policy made them henceforth friendly to the Empire.

The most distinguished triumph of Mughul imperialism during the reign of Jahāngīr was its victory over the Rājputs of Mewār, who had so long defied its might. Amar Singh of Mewār was devoid of the unflinching resolution of Pratāp, and the policy of Prince Khurram, the third son of Jahāngīr, compelled him to negotiate for peace. The Rānā and his son Karan submitted to the Mughuls and recognised the suzerainty of the Empire. The Rānā himself was exempted from personal attendance at the imperial court, and no princess of his family was ever taken to the imperial harem. As Jahāngīr himself observed: "The real point was that as Rānā Amar Singh and his fathers, proud in the strength of their hilly

[1] It became the Church of St. James from 1857 to 1887 and is now the Record Office of the Punjab Government.

country and their abodes, had never seen or obeyed any of the Kings of Hindustān, this should be brought about in my reign." Jahāngīr subsequently placed two life-size marble statues of the Rānā and his son in the garden of his palace at Āgra. By granting generous terms to Mewār and adopting a conciliatory policy towards it, Jahāngīr secured its loyalty for the Mughul Empire till Aurangzeb's policy alienated Rānā Rāj Singh.

In the Deccan, Jahāngīr pursued the forward policy of his father and a desultory war dragged on throughout his reign against the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Complete success of the Mughul arms over the forces of Ahmadnagar was not possible, owing partly to the strength of the Deccan kingdom and partly to the weak conduct of the war by the imperial troops. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar was then ably served by its Abyssinian minister, Malik 'Ambar, a born leader of men and one of the greatest statesmen that Medieval India produced. His reorganisation of the revenue system of the kingdom on sound lines contributed to its financial stability, and his training of the soldiers, mostly Marāthas, in the guerrilla method of warfare enabled them to cope successfully with the imperialists. Mu'tamīd Khān, the Mughul court-chronicler, who could not have been biased towards Malik 'Ambar, thus describes him: "This 'Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory warfare, which in the language of the Dakhin is called *bargī-giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence." The activities of the imperial troops were, on the other hand, greatly hampered by continual dissensions among the commanders. The nominal command of the campaigns was given first to Prince Parwez and subsequently to Prince Khurram. But 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, and some other chief nobles, really controlled all affairs. They occupied their time more in mutual quarrels than in fighting against the Deccanis. Only a partial success was gained by the Mughuls in A.D. 1616, when Prince Khurram captured Ahmadnagar and some other strongholds. For this victory Khurram was rewarded by his father with the title of Shāh Jahān (King of the World). He received various gifts, and was elevated to the rank of 30,000 *zāt* and 20,000 *sawār*. But the victory of the Mughuls over Ahmadnagar was more apparent than real. The Deccan was far from being completely conquered by them. It has been justly remarked that "nothing could conceal the stern

reality that the expenditure of millions of rupees and thousands of lives had not advanced the Mughul frontier a single line beyond the frontier of 1605".

A notable military success of Jahāngīr's reign was the capture of the strong fortress of Kāngra in the hills of the north-eastern Punjab on the 16th November, 1620. But this event, in which Jahāngīr found cause for exultation, was quickly followed by disasters and rebellions which had no end till he closed his eyes for ever.

The first serious disaster for the Empire was the loss of Qandahār, which had long been a source of friction between the Mughuls and the Persians. Deceiving the Mughul officers by gifts and friendly professions, Shāh 'Abbās (1587–1629), one of the greatest rulers of Asia in his time, took advantage of internal disorders in the Empire to besiege Qandahār in 1621, and finally took it in June, 1622. The huge preparations of Jahāngīr for the recapture of Qandahār were in vain, as his son Shāh Jahān, whom he ordered to lead the expedition, apprehending that his absence from the capital would be utilised by Nūr Jahān to prejudice his claims to the throne, and to strengthen those of her son-in-law, Shahryār, did not move. Alienated by the intrigues of Nūr Jahān, Shāh Jahān soon rose in rebellion against his father, as the Emperor had not the courage or power to restrain the Empress. Placed on the horns of a dilemma—facing the Persian pressure on the north-west and the defection of Shāh Jahān within the heart of the Empire—Jahāngīr was in sore straits. His attention and efforts had soon to be diverted towards the suppression of the danger at home.

Shāh Jahān, joined by the aged officer 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, at first intended to march on Āgra, but an imperial army under the nominal command of Prince Parwez and with Mahābat Khān as its real leader, completely defeated him at Balochpur, south of Delhi, in 1623. He was chased from province to province and met with repeated reverses. He first proceeded to the Deccan, whence he was driven to Bengal. But unable to maintain his hold there, he returned to the Deccan and for a few years wandered about seeking the alliance of Malik 'Ambar and others. He was finally reconciled to his father in 1625. His sons, Dārā Shukoh and Aurangzeb, were sent to the imperial court, probably to serve as hostages for his good behaviour; and he retired to Nāsik with his wife, Mumtāz Mahal, a niece of Nūr Jahān, and his youngest son, Murād. Thus ended the futile rebellion of Shāh Jahān, with no gain for him but with ample damage to the Empire.

An Afghān by birth, Mahābat Khān held only a *mansab* of 500 in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign. Being rapidly promoted to higher ranks, he rendered conspicuous services to the Emperor, especially in suppressing the rebellion of Shāh Jahān. But his success excited the jealousy of Nūr Jahān and her brother, Āsaf Khān, and the queen's hostility drove him to rebellion. By a bold *coup de main* he made Jahāngīr a prisoner on the bank of the river Jhelum, while the Emperor was on his way to Kābul. Nūr Jahān managed to escape, but all her attempts to rescue her husband by force having failed, she joined him in confinement. She and her husband were finally able, by outwitting Mahābat Khān, to effect their escape to Rohtās, where the partisans of Jahāngīr had collected a large force. Mahābat Khān ultimately ran away to Shāh Jahān and made peace with him. But Nūr Jahān's triumph was short-lived, for the Emperor died on the 28th October, 1627. His body was buried in a beautiful tomb at Shāhdara, on the banks of the Rāvī.

Jahāngīr is a complex personality in Indian history. Terry writes of him: "Now for the disposition of that King it ever seemed unto me to be composed of extremes: for sometimes he was cruel and at other times he would seem to be exceedingly fair and gentle." Beveridge remarks: "Jahāngīr was indeed a strange mixture. The man who could stand by and see men flayed alive . . . could yet be a lover of justice and could spend his Thursday evenings in holding high converse. . . . He could procure the murder of Abul Fazl and avow the fact without remorse, and also pity the royal elephants because they shivered in winter when they sprinkled themselves with cold water. . . . One good trait in Jahāngīr was his hearty enjoyment of nature and his love of flowers." In the opinion of the Emperor's latest biographer, he was "a sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and a passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as prince and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of cruelty. But, as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and an open mind". Francis Gladwin has also observed that "from the beginning to the end of his reign, Jahāngīr's disposition towards his subjects appears to have been invariably humane and considerate". He removed some vexatious transit duties and taxes and made an attempt to prohibit traffic in eunuchs. He had a strong sense of justice. "The first order that I gave," he writes, "was for fastening up the Chain of Justice." This chain,

bearing sixty bells, could be shaken by the humblest of his subjects to bring their grievances to his notice. He imposed penalties without any consideration for the rank of the accused. Thus on passing the capital sentence on an influential murderer, he observed: "God forbid that in such affairs I should consider princes, and far less that I should consider Amīrs." His reign saw the beginning of a new intercourse between Europe and India.

Possessed of a fine aesthetic taste, and himself a painter, Jahāngīr was a patron of art and literature and a lover of nature. His *Tūzuk* (Memoirs) is a brilliant proof of his literary attainments. But he was given to excessive intemperance, which gradually spoiled the finer aspects of his character and was responsible for the inconsistency of his temper. Jahāngīr's attitude towards religion was not so rational as that of his father, but he was not an eclectic or a Christian at heart. With a sincere belief in God, he did not remain satisfied with mere dogmas of any particular creed but was a deist. He loved to converse with Hindu or Muslim saints, and Christian preachers, and valued religious pictures, notably of Christians, but he did not accept the practices or rites of the Hindus, the Zoroastrians or the Christians.

2. Shāh Jahān

A. The Struggle for the Throne

The death of Jahāngīr was followed by a short period of struggle for succession to the throne. Shāh Jahān was still in the Deccan when his father died in October, 1627, and though two of his brothers, Khusrav and Parwez, had already expired, there was another, Prince Shahryār, with a position of advantage in the north. At the instance of his mother-in-law, Nūr Jahān, Shahryār lost no time in proclaiming himself Emperor in Lahore. But Shāh Jahān's cause was ably served by Āsaf Khān, father of Mumtāz Mahal. With much alertness, Āsaf Khān sent a message to Shāh Jahān asking him to come to the north. At the same time, with a view to satisfying the people of the capital, he installed Prince Dāwar Bakhsh, son of the late Prince Khusrav, on the throne as a stop-gap Emperor, pending the arrival of Shāh Jahān. Having won over to his side the *Mīr Bakhshi*, Irādat Khān, Āsaf Khān marched to Lahore, defeated the troops of Shahryār, made him a prisoner and blinded him. Shāh Jahān hurried to Āgra from the Deccan and was proclaimed Emperor in the metropolis in February, 1628, under the lofty title of 'Abul Muzaffar Shihāb-ud-dīn

Muhammad Sāhib-i-qirān II, Shāh Jahān Pādshāh Ghāzī. Soon after this, Prince Dāwar Bakhsh, whom the contemporary chronicler has aptly described as a "sacrificial lamb", was removed from the throne and consigned to prison, but he was subsequently released and went to reside in Persia as a pensioner of its Shāh. Shāh Jahān managed to remove all his possible rivals "out of the world". He lived to see two of his sons executed, a third driven out of the country. He himself spent his last days as a captive.

B. Rebellions

For the time being, however, everything went in the Emperor's favour. He began his reign with profound optimism and success. In recognition of their services, Āsaf Khān and Mahābat Khān were promoted to high offices. The former was made the Wazīr of the Empire and the latter governor of Ajmer. The Emperor easily suppressed two rebellions—one of Jujhār Singh, a Bundelā chief, son of Bīr Singh Bundelā, and the other of a powerful Afghān noble named Khān Jahān Lodī, an ex-viceroy of the Deccan—which broke out in the first and the second year of his reign respectively. The Bundelā chief was quickly overpowered and retreated into the mountains, whence, however, he continued to create trouble for the Emperor till 1634. Ultimately he was defeated by the imperialists, who forced him to leave his country, and he was killed on the way in a chance skirmish with the Gonds. More formidable than the Bundelā rising was the rebellion of Khān Jahān Lodī, who had allied himself with Nizām-ul-mulk, the last of the Nizām Shāhī rulers of Ahmadnagar, and had some Marātha and Rājput supporters. The success of his efforts, which meant the "carrying out of the traditional hostility of the Afghān chiefs to the Mughul dynasty", would have deprived the Empire of its southern provinces. But Shāh Jahān, having fully realised the gravity of the situation, sent a body of efficient troops to suppress the rebellion. Chased from place to place, deserted by his allies and having lost his friends and relations in battle, the Afghān chief fought desperately against the imperialists for three years but was ultimately defeated at Tāl Sehonda, north of Kālinjar, and cut to pieces with his sons, 'Azīz and Āimal, in the fourth year.

C. Treatment of the Portuguese and Capture of Hugli

The Portuguese had established themselves above Sātgāon in Bengal in or about A.D. 1579 on the strength of an imperial *firman*,

and had gradually strengthened their position by the erection of large buildings round about Hugli, which became consequently more important than Sātgāon from the commercial point of view. But far from remaining satisfied with peaceful commercial pursuits, they gave offence to Shāh Jāhan by some objectionable practices. They not only exacted heavy duties from the Indian traders, especially on tobacco (which had become by that time an important article of trade), at the cost of the revenues of the State, but also became arrogant enough to begin the abominable and cruel practice of slave trading, for which they kidnapped many orphan Hindu or Muslim children, whom they converted to Christianity. Their audacity rose so high that they captured two slave girls of Mumtāz Mahal's. This must have been sufficient to incense the Mughul Emperor. The conversion of Indians to Christianity by some of the Jesuit missionaries added to his resentment against the Portuguese. After his accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān appointed Kāsīm 'Ālī Khān governor of Bengal and charged him with the duty of punishing the Portuguese. Hugli was accordingly besieged by a large army, under the command of Kāsīm 'Ālī Khān's son, on the 24th June, 1632, and was captured after three months. Many of the Portuguese, as we know from the court-chronicler, 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, were killed and a large number of them were taken as prisoners to Āgra, where they suffered terribly.

D. Famine in the Deccan and Gujarāt, 1630–1632

In the fourth and fifth years of the reign of Shāh Jahān an appalling famine of the most severe type desolated the Deccan and Gujarāt. The horrors of this terrible calamity have been thus described by 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī: "The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the ever-bounteous hand was stretched out to beg for food; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other

countries." An English merchant-traveller, Peter Mundy, who went on business from Surāt to Āgra and Patnā and came back while the famine was raging, has also left a detailed account of its horrors.

E. The North-West Frontier Policy

Shāh Jahān was determined to recover the important province of Qandahār, without which the Mughul position on the north-west frontier remained comparatively weak. By skilful negotiations he seduced 'Ālī Mardān Khān, the Persian governor of Qandahār, from his loyalty to the Shāh and persuaded him to surrender the fortress to the Mughuls. 'Ālī Mardān entered the Mughul imperial service and was rewarded with money and honour. The action of 'Ālī Mardān Khān deprived Persia of Qandahār, but the Mughuls could not retain it long. The Persians under their energetic ruler, Shāh 'Abbās II, made preparations in August, 1648, with a view to attacking Qandahār during winter, when the snowfall would make it difficult for the Mughuls to bring reinforcements from India. The courtiers of Shāh Jahān unwisely advised him to postpone the work of opposing the Persians till the season was over. "The natural consequence of neglecting an enemy followed. The Persian King triumphed over the depth of winter, his lack of provisions, and other difficulties, on which the courtiers of Shāh Jahān had built their hopes," and besieged Qandahār on the 16th December, 1648. The Mughul garrison ultimately capitulated on the 11th February, A.D. 1649, owing largely to the weakness of Daulat Khān, the incapable Mughul governor of Qandahār. Early in May, Prince Aurangzeb, with the chief minister, Sa'dullah Khān, was deputed to make an attempt to recover Qandahār, and he attacked it on the 16th of that month. But this attempt failed before the superior military preparations and skill of the Persians. Shāh Jahān, however, would not abandon his design of recapturing Qandahār. After three years' preparations the Emperor sent there a powerful expeditionary army with a siege-train, again under Aurangzeb and Sa'dullah Khān, while he himself remained encamped at Kābul to make arrangements for supplies of provisions and munitions of war. The imperial commanders invested Qandahār on the 2nd May, 1652. They had received strict instructions from their master not to deliver an assault on the fortress without making a breach, but they failed to effect it with their inefficient gunnery in the face of the superior artillery of the Persians. Thus the Mughul troops had no success this time also, and Shāh Jahān had to order the abandonment of the siege. A third attempt made

by the Emperor's eldest and favourite son, Dārā Shukoh (now exalted with the title of "*Shāh Buland Iqbāl*" or "King of Lofty Fortune"), in the following year, proved as unlucky as that of his brother. Qandahār was lost to the Mughuls for good, though the campaigns undertaken to recover it during the reign of Shāh Jahān cost no less than twelve crores of rupees, that is, more than half of the annual income of the State, besides valuable lives. Further, the repeated failures of the Mughul troops before Qandahār considerably affected the prestige of the Empire.

F. The Central Asian Policy

The Central Asian adventures of the Mughuls also ended in disasters. Shāh Jahān, like his father and grandfather, dreamt of reconquering the old territories of his ancestors in Central Asia. "Ever since the beginning of his reign," writes 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, "the Emperor's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, which were hereditary territories of his house, and the keys to the acquisition of Samarqānd, the home and capital of his great ancestor Tīmūr." But the difficulties of mobilising a large army through the lofty ranges of the Hindukush were great, and the utility of the enterprise for the Mughul Empire in India was very doubtful. Shāh Jahān, however, did not consider this. "The prosperity of his reign and the flattery of his courtiers had turned his head and he was dreaming the vainest of vain dreams." In 1646, circumstances being favourable owing to the outbreak of a civil war in the ruling house of the Oxus region, Prince Murād and 'Ālī Mardān occupied Balkh and Badakhshān, which lay hemmed in between the Hindukush and the Oxus. But to consolidate these conquests became impossible. Sick of the uncongenial climate of Balkh and other difficulties, Prince Murād came back to India against the desire of his father, for which he was disgraced. The *wazīr*, Sa'dullah Khān, was soon sent to Balkh to set things right. In the next year the Emperor, determined not to give up his conquests, dispatched Aurangzeb to Balkh with a large army. But the Uzbegs now organised a national resistance against the Mughuls in the face of which Aurangzeb, in spite of his sincere and earnest efforts, could achieve nothing and had to retreat to India after suffering terrible hardships. The Central Asian campaigns cost the Mughul Empire immense loss of men and money. As Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks: "Thus ended Shāh Jahān's fatuous war in Balkh—a war in which the Indian treasury spent four krores of rupees in two years and realised from the

conquered country a revenue of 22½ lakhs only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, no dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain stored in the Balkh fort, worth five lakhs, and the provisions in other forts as well, were all abandoned to the Bukhāriāns, besides Rs. 50,000 in cash presented to Nazar Muhammad's grandsons and Rs. 22,500 to envoys. Five hundred soldiers fell in battle and ten times that number (including camp-followers) were slain by cold and snow on the mountains. Such is the terrible price that aggressive imperialism makes India pay for wars across the north-western frontier."

G. Shāh Jahān and the Deccan States

Shāh Jahān resumed the traditional policy of expansion in the south, the whole of which had not been, as we have already noted, thoroughly subdued by Akbar. Akbar could only conquer Khāndesh and annex a portion of Berar. Jahāngīr's attempt to conquer Ahmadnagar was successfully checked by its able minister, Malik 'Ambar. Bijāpur and Golkundā continued to enjoy independence. Much was still left to be accomplished before Mughul imperialism could triumph completely over the Peninsula.

The Nizām Shāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar, because of its proximity to the Mughul frontier in the south, was the first to feel the weight of Mughul arms. After the death of Malik 'Ambar, the saviour of Ahmadnagar from Mughul attack during the reign of Jahāngīr, in 1626, the kingdom was in a moribund condition. Internal dissensions between the Sultān and his minister, Fateh Khān, the unworthy son of the noble Abyssinian Malik 'Ambar, brought the kingdom within the clutches of the Mughuls in the course of a few years. In 1630 the Mughuls failed to capture Parenda, a strong fortress belonging to Ahmadnagar. But Fateh Khān, dissatisfied with Sultān Nizām-ul-mulk, entered into negotiations with the Mughul Emperor and at the suggestion of the latter secretly made away with his master. To perpetuate his own influence he placed on the throne Nizām-ul-mulk's son, Husain Shāh, a boy only ten years old. He was not at all sincere in his friendship with the Mughuls. When the Mughuls besieged the fortress of Daulatābād in 1631, he at first went against the imperialists but was soon won over by them with a bribe of ten and a half lacs of rupees, and surrendered the fortress. Thus the same ignoble means which had given Asīrgarh to the Mughuls were used by them also to secure Daulatābād. Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Mughul Empire in A.D. 1633, and the

nominal king, Husain Shāh, was consigned to life-long imprisonment in the fort of Gwālior. The dynasty of the Nizām Shāhīs thus came to an end, though an unsuccessful attempt to revive it was made in 1635 by Shāhjī, father of the celebrated Shivājī. As a reward for his help to the Mughuls, Fateh Khān was enrolled in the imperial service at a liberal salary.

The independence of the Shiah States of Golkundā and Bijāpur was highly offensive to the imperialistic and religious zeal of Shāh Jahān. The encroachments of the imperial troops on their territories had already begun in 1629 and 1631 respectively. In the year 1635, when the rulers of those two States secretly helped Shāhjī, who made an attempt to set up a Nizām Shāhī boy as the nominal Sultān of the now defunct kingdom of Admadnagar, the Mughul Emperor called upon them to acknowledge his suzerainty, to send tribute regularly, and to abstain from helping Shāhjī. He marched in person to the Deccan to enforce his demands and on reaching Daulatābād on 21st February, 1636, made vigorous preparations to attack the Deccan States. Overawed by these, 'Abdullah Shāh, Sultān of Golkundā, acknowledged the suzerainty of Shāh Jahān by complying with all the demands of the latter, such as paying an annual tribute to the Emperor, and to striking coins, and having the *Khutba* read, in his name.

But the 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur refused to submit to the imperial behest and made a bold stand to defend his rights. Three Mughul armies then attacked his kingdom from three sides—one, under Khān-i-Daurān, from Bīdar in the north-east, another, under Khān Jahān, through Sholāpur in the west, and the third, under Khān-i-Zamān, by way of Indāpur in the north-west. Though by resorting to the time-honoured expedients of cutting off the supplies of the enemy and poisoning the wells, the Bijāpur soldiers bravely defended the capital city, the rest of their kingdom was devastated by the Mughuls. Thus the Sultān was compelled to sue for peace, which was concluded in May, 1636. He acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughul Emperor, agreed to pay tribute to him, and was required not to molest the kingdom of Golkundā, which was now a dependency of the Emperor. Besides being allowed to hold his ancestral kingdom, the Sultān got portions of the territory of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, the rest of which was absorbed into the Mughul Empire. Both the parties agreed not to suborn their respective officers, and the Sultān was not to assist, or give shelter to, Shāhjī. "Thus after forty years of strife (1595–1636)," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The position of the Emperor was

asserted beyond challenge, his boundaries clearly defined, and his suzerainty over the southern kingdoms formally established." The Emperor left the Deccan on the 11th July, 1636, and sent his third son, Aurangzeb, then a youth of eighteen, as viceroy of the Mughul Deccan. It was then a fairly extensive territory, comprising four provinces, Khāndesh, Berar, Telingāna, and Daulatābād, and estimated to yield an income of five crores of rupees a year. It contained sixty-four hill forts, some of which were still in the possession of Shāhjī and other hostile chiefs.

The young viceroy engaged himself assiduously in suppressing the enemies of the Empire. He captured the district of Bāglāna, lying between Khāndesh and the Surāt coast, and compelled Shāhjī to submit to him and surrender certain forts. In 1637 he went to Āgra to marry Dilras Bānu Begam, daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān of the Persian royal family, then employed as a Mughul officer. But Aurangzeb was much embarrassed in his Deccan administration for lack of finance and also by the influence of a hostile party under his brother, Dārā Shukoh. In 1644 he proceeded to Āgra to see his favourite sister, Jahānārā, who had been severely burnt in the month of March and was cured at last in November by an ointment prepared by a slave named Arīf.[1] But three weeks after his arrival at Āgra, Aurangzeb was forced by adverse circumstances to resign his post. The older historians have suggested some vague reasons for this sudden fall of Aurangzeb, which do not offer a true explanation of the situation. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī writes that "misled by the wicked counsels of his foolish companions, he wanted to take to the retired life of an ascetic and had also done some acts which the Emperor disapproved of". In the opinion of Khāfī Khān, Aurangzeb, in order to "anticipate his father's punishment of his bad deeds, himself took off his sword and lived for some days as a hermit" which caused his retirement from the Deccan viceroyalty. The real reason, as found in Aurangzeb's letters, was that owing to Dārā Shukoh's persistent hostility towards him and the partiality of Shāh Jahān for his brother, Aurangzeb found it difficult to carry on the Deccan administration and maintain his self-respect properly and so resigned in disgust.

After his resignation of the viceroyalty of the Deccan, Aurangzeb was appointed governor of Gujarāt in February, 1645, and was subsequently sent on expeditions to Balkh, Badakhshān and

[1] It has been shown by Sir William Foster (*Indian Antiquary*, 1911) and Dr. Smith (*Oxford History*, p. 401), that the story of an English surgeon named Gabriel Boughton curing Jahānārā is not true.

Qandahār, which, as we have already seen, ended in failure. On returning from Qandahār, Aurangzeb could not stay at court in safety, or honourably, owing to the hostility of Dārā Shukoh. He was, therefore, sent to the Deccan as its viceroy for the second time in the beginning of A.D. 1653. From November, 1653, either Daulatābād or Aurangābād was the headquarters of his government.

The task before Aurangzeb was immensely difficult. During the few years following his resignation, the administration of the Deccan had fallen into utter confusion, and its financial condition had become deplorable, through a "succession of short viceroyalties and incompetent viceroys". The administration ran on a constant financial deficit, which had to be made good by draining the imperial exchequer. But this was indeed a shortsighted policy. To improve the finances of the Deccan was, therefore, Aurangzeb's first concern. He not only took steps to promote agriculture in the interests of the peasantry but also adopted certain revenue measures, which considerably improved the economic conditions of his territory and have made his viceroyalty famous in the history of land settlements in the Deccan. He fortunately received valuable assistance from an able Persian revenue officer named Murshid Qulī Khān. Belonging originally to the company of 'Ālī Mardān Khān, Murshid Qulī came to the Deccan with Aurangzeb as *diwān* of Daulatābād and Telingāna and subsequently also of Berar and Khāndesh. For the purpose of revenue-collection, the Deccan *subah* was divided into two parts, the Painghāt or the Lowlands and the Balāghāt or the Highlands, each having its own *diwān* or revenue-minister. The former comprised the whole of Khāndesh and one half of Berar and the latter covered the rest of the territories under viceregal control. Besides reorganising the Deccan finances, Murshid Qulī extended there Todar Mall's system of survey and assessment, with some changes suited to local conditions. Thus in the areas which were thinly populated and where agriculture was in a comparatively backward stage he retained the traditional system of a fixed lump sum payment per plough, while elsewhere he introduced the system of *bātāi* (metayership), under which the share of the State varied according to the nature of the crop and the source of water. In certain parts he introduced another system of assessment known as the *jarib*. According to it, the State-revenue, to be paid in kind, was fixed per *bighā* on a uniform claim to one-fourth of the produce, after a careful measurement of the lands and consideration of the quality and quantity of their produce. Steps were also taken to improve the condition of the

ruined villages and help the agriculturists with advance payments. On the whole, the wise measures of Murshid Qulī contributed to the restoration of prosperity in the Deccan, though the accumulated evils of several years' bad government were too numerous to be removed completely within a short time. Sir J. N. Sarkar observes on the authority of Bhīmsen Burhānpurī, the author of *Nuskha-i-Dilkhushā*, that in 1658 there was not "a single piece of waste land near Aurangābād; wheat and pulse sold at 2½ maunds a rupee, *jawar* and *bajrā* at 3½ maunds, molasses at half a maund, and yellow oil (ghee) at 4 seers".[1]

Having thus reorganised the internal administration, Aurangzeb turned his attention towards destroying the independence of the rich Shiah States of Golkundā and Bijāpur. Excuses for immediate attack were not lacking. So far as the State of Golkundā, already a tributary of the Mughul Empire since 1636, was concerned, it had been frequently in arrears in payment of the stipulated tribute. A more plausible plea was found in the Sultān's treatment of his powerful minister, Mīr Jumla, who had secured the protection of the Mughuls.

Muhammad Sa'īd, better known as Mīr Jumla, was a Persian merchant-adventurer. Like several other adventurers, he made a vast fortune, by trading in diamonds and precious stones, and soon entered the service of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, the Sultān of Golkundā. His exceptional talents, military genius, and administrative capacity, were appreciated by his master, who made him the chief minister of the State. Mīr Jumla took advantage of his position to make himself the virtual dictator of the State. He went further and soon carved out a dominion for himself by extensive conquests in the Karnātak. This dominion, about three hundred miles long and fifty miles broad, yielded him an annual revenue of forty lacs of rupees and enabled him to maintain a powerful army, especially strong in artillery. Thus, though his "rank was that of a noble, he possessed the power, wealth and grandeur of a ruling prince". Naturally alarmed at the growing power and wealth of his minister, the Sultān tried to coerce him into obedience and arrested his son, Muhammad 'Amīn Khān, with his family, for his insolent behaviour towards him. Mīr Jumla then entered into intrigues with the Mughul Emperor and Aurangzeb. The latter realised that the friendship of this discontented and semi-independent officer would be of immense service to him in his meditated attack on Golkundā.

Thus the Sultān of Golkundā was betrayed by Mīr Jumla.

[1] Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 173.

Aurangzeb procured an order from Shāh Jahān bidding the Sultān of Golkundā release Mīr Jumla's family, but without allowing the Sultān a reasonable time to reply to the Emperor's letter, he declared war against him. Acting under Aurangzeb's instructions, his son, Prince Muhammad Sultān, attacked Hyderābād in January, 1556, and the Mughul soldiery plundered the country. Aurangzeb himself reached there on the 6th February and besieged Golkundā the next day. His ambition was nothing short of the complete annexation of the kingdom. But the intervention of Shāh Jahān, under the influence of Dārā Shukoh and Jahānārā, prevented it. In obedience to the orders of his father, Aurangzeb was compelled to raise the siege of Golkundā on the 30th March, 1656, and the kingdom thus got a further lease of life on paying to the Mughul Emperor an indemnity of ten lacs of rupees and ceding to him the district of Rangīr (modern Mānikdrug and Chinoor). Prince Muhammad Sultān, Aurangzeb's son, was married by proxy to the Sultān's daughter, and, by a secret arrangement, Aurangzeb extorted a promise from the Sultān to make his new son-in-law his heir. Mīr Jumla was soon afterwards appointed prime minister of the Empire.

Next came the turn of the kingdom of Bijāpur, which had fallen into disorder after the death of its capable ruler, Muhammad 'Ādīl Shāh, on the 4th November, 1656. This presented an opportunity to Aurangzeb for the fulfilment of his design. He obtained Shāh Jahān's permission to invade the kingdom on the ground that the new ruler of Bijāpur, a youth of eighteen years, was not the son of the deceased Sultān but his origin was obscure. This was nothing but a flimsy pretext and it is clear that the war against Bijāpur "was wholly unrighteous. Bijāpur was not a vassal State, but an independent ally of the Mughul Emperor, and the latter had no lawful right to confirm or question the succession at Bijāpur. The true reason for the Mughul interference was the helplessness of its boy-king and the discord among his officers, which presented a fine 'opportunity for annexation', as Aurangzeb expressed it". With the assistance of Mīr Jumla, Aurangzeb invaded the kingdom early in January, 1657, and, after a prolonged siege, reduced the fortress of Bīdar towards the end of March and of Kalyānī on the 1st August. Further conquest of the Deccan was prevented by the sudden intervention of Shāh Jahān under the influence of Dārā Shukoh and other opponents of Aurangzeb. The Emperor granted peace to the Sultān of Bijāpur (1657), as conditions of which the latter had to pay a heavy indemnity, like the Sultān of Golkundā, and surrender Bīdar, Kalyānī and Parenda. The

illness of Shāh Jahān, and the consequent scramble for the throne among his sons, postponed the complete fulfilment of Aurangzeb's designs in the Deccan, which thus gained a respite for about thirty years.

H. War of Succession

Shāh Jahān's last days were made highly tragic by the outbreak of a terrible war of succession among his sons. It broke out as soon as he fell ill in September, 1657, and subjected the old Emperor to extreme humiliation and agony till his exit from this world. Shāh Jahān had four sons, all of mature age at that time—Dārā Shukoh aged 43, Shujā aged 41, Aurangzeb aged 39, and Murād aged 33—and two daughters, Jahānārā, who sided with Dārā Shukoh, and Raushnārā, who joined the party of Aurangzeb. All the brothers had by that time gained considerable experience in civil and military affairs as governors of provinces and commanders of armies, but there were differences among them in personal qualities and capacities. The eldest of them, Dārā Shukoh, was in the confidence of his father, who desired him to be his successor. A man of eclectic views, liberal disposition, and of scholarly instincts, Dārā Shukoh mixed with the followers of other faiths and studied the doctrines of the Vedānta, the Talmud, the New Testament and the works of Sūfī writers. He caused a Persian version of the Atharva Veda and the Upanishads to be made with the assistance of some Brāhmaṇa scholars[1] and aimed at finding a *modus vivendi* among the apparently hostile creeds. For this he naturally incurred the displeasure of the orthodox members among his co-religionists, who went against him. But he was not a heretic. He never "discarded the essential dogmas of Islam; he only displayed the eclecticism of the Sūfīs, a recognised school of Islamic believers. If he showed contempt for the external rites of religion, he only shared the standpoint of many noble thinkers of all Churches, such as John Milton". His latest biographer has aptly remarked: "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that any one who intends to take up the solution of the problem of religious peace in India must begin the work where Dārā had left it, and proceed on the path chalked out by that prince." But the excessive fondness of his father for him, and his constant presence at the court, prevented the growth in him of the qualities of an astute politician or the abilities of a brave general and also bred in him a

[1] For a list of Dārā Shukoh's works *vide J.P.H.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 21–38; *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, 1870, pp. 273–9; Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. I, p. 271 footnote; Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, Vol. I, Chapter VI.

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sense of pride, which made him contemptuous of advice. His anger was, however, "seldom more than momentary". The second brother, Shujā, then governor of Bengal, possessed intelligence and was a brave soldier. But his excessive love of ease and pleasure made him "weak, indolent, and negligent, incapable of sustained effort, vigilant caution, and profound combination". The youngest, Murād, then governor of Gujarāt, was no doubt frank, liberal and brave, but was addicted to hard drinking and could not therefore develop the qualities needed for leadership. Aurangzeb, the third brother, was the ablest of all. He possessed uncommon industry and profound diplomatic and military skill, and an unquestionable capacity for administration. Further, as a zealous Sunnī Mussalmān, he naturally obtained the support of the orthodox Sunnīs. As we shall see, the differences in the character of the rival princes did much to influence the course of the struggle. Dārā Shukoh, a liberal man but an ill-qualified general and statesman, was a poor match for the clever and intelligent Aurangzeb; Shujā and Murād had also to suffer for their incompetence before the superior generalship and tact of Aurangzeb.

Dārā Shukoh alone of the four brothers was present at Āgra when Shāh Jahān fell ill in September, 1657. The illness was indeed serious and it was suspected by the three absentee brothers that their father had really expired and the news had been suppressed by Dārā Shukoh. So precarious is the position of an autocracy that even the illness of the Emperor gave rise to confusion and disorder in the kingdom, which became more intense as soon as the fratricidal contest commenced. Shujā proclaimed himself Emperor at Rājmahal, the then capital of Bengal, and marched towards the metropolis of the Empire. But on arriving near Benares he was defeated by an army sent against him under Dārā Shukoh's son, Sulaimān Shukoh, and was forced to retire to Bengal. Murād also crowned himself at Ahmadābād (5th December, 1657). He joined Aurangzeb at Mālwa and formed an alliance with him. They entered into an agreement to partition the Empire, which was solemnised in the name of God and the Prophet. The terms of the agreement were: (i) "one-third of the booty would belong to Murād Bakhsh and two-thirds to Aurangzeb, (ii) after the conquest of the Empire, the Punjab, Afghānistān, Kāshmīr and Sind would belong to Murād, who would set up the standard of kingship there, issue coins and proclaim his own name as king". The combined troops of Aurangzeb and Murād marched towards the north and reached Dharmāt, fourteen miles south-south-west of Ujjain. The Emperor sent Rājā Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Qāsīm Khān to check

their advance. The hostile armies met at Dharmāt on the 15th April, 1658, where the imperialists were signally defeated, owing partly "to the evils of divided counsels" and jealousy between the Hindu and Muslim soldiers and partly to the inferior military tactics of Jaswant Singh as compared with those of Aurangzeb, who had "aged in war". The Rāthors fought with desperate valour and suffered heavy losses, while Qāsīm Khān did almost nothing to serve the cause of his master. When Jaswant Singh fled to Jodhpur his proud wife shut the gates of the castle against him for retreating from the field of battle. The battle of Dharmāt immensely added to Aurangzeb's resources and prestige. As Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks: "The hero of the Deccan wars and the victor of Dharmāt faced the world not only without loss but with his military reputation rendered absolutely unrivalled in India."

The victorious princes crossed the Chambal over a neglected ford and reached the plain of Samūgarh, eight miles to the east of Āgra Fort. Dārā Shukoh had also advanced there towards the end of May to meet his opponents with an army of 50,000 soldiers "formidable in appearance only" but "composed of a miscellaneous host of diverse classes and localities, hastily got together and not properly co-ordinated nor taught to act in concert". A battle ensued on the 29th May. It was hotly contested and both parties fought bravely, Murād getting three wounds in the face. True to the tradition of their race, the Rājputs under Dārā Shukoh fought gallantly under their brave young leader, Rām Singh, and perished to a man in making a desperate attack upon the division of Prince Murād. Unluckily for Dārā Shukoh, his elephant being severely wounded by an arrow, he got down from it and mounted a horse. "That action," observes Smith, "settled the fate of the battle." Finding the *howdāh* of their master's elephant empty, the surviving troops thought that he had fallen and dispersed from the field in utter confusion. Filled with despair, Dārā Shukoh fled towards Āgra, leaving his camp and guns to be captured by his enemies, and reached there "in an unspeakably wretched condition". The defeat of Dārā Shukoh was in fact due to some tactical errors on the part of his generals and to the weaker condition of his artillery, and it was not caused wholly, as some accounts would lead us to believe, by the artful advice of Khalīlullāh, who was in charge of the right wing of his army.

The battle of Samūgarh practically decided the issue in the succession war among the sons of Shāh Jahān. The discomfiture of Dārā, with the loss of many of his soldiers, made it easier for Aurangzeb to realise his ambition. It may very well be said that

the capture of the throne of Hindustān by Aurangzeb was almost a logical sequel to his victory at Samūgarh. Soon after this victory he marched to Āgra and seized the fort there on the 8th June following, defying all efforts of Shāh Jahān for an amicable settlement and baffling the attempts of the imperial defenders of the fort to prevent its capture.

Deprived of his throne, Shāh Jahān had to suffer most callous treatment. When Aurangzeb, as a sort of offensive measure against the defenders of the Āgra fort, stopped the supply of water from the Jumnā, the unhappy Emperor had to quench his thirst in the dry summer of June with brackish water from the wells within the fort. He wrote to Aurangzeb in a pathetic tone:—

> "Praised be the Hindus in all cases,
> As they ever offer water to their dead.
> And thou, my son, art a marvellous Mussalmān,
> As thou causest me in life to lament for (lack of) water."

Placed under strict confinement as an ordinary prisoner Shāh Jahān was denied even the common conveniences. Aurangzeb turned a deaf ear to all requests of the Emperor and Jahānārā for reconciliation; and the unhappy Emperor "at last bowed to the inevitable, and, like a child that cries itself to sleep, ceased to complain". He found solace in religion, and, in a spirit of resignation, passed his last days in prayer and meditation in the company of his pious daughter, Jahānārā, till at last death, at the age of seventy-four, on the 22nd January, 1666, relieved him of all his miseries.

From Āgra Aurangzeb started towards Delhi on the 13th June, 1658. But on the way he halted at Rupnagar near Mathurā to crush the opposition of his brother, Murād, who had by that time been able to see through the design of his brother and had grown jealous of him. Instead of meeting Murād in the open field, Aurangzeb inveigled him into a trap. The unfortunate Prince was imprisoned first in the fort of Salīmgarh, whence he was removed to the fortress of Gwālior in January, 1659, and was executed on the 4th December, 1661, on the charge of murdering Diwān 'Ālī Naqī. Already after Murād's arrest, Aurangzeb had gone to Delhi, where, on the 21st July, 1658, he crowned himself as Emperor.

Aurangzeb next proceeded to deal with his other rivals. The defeat of Dārā Shukoh at Dharmāt and Samūgarh emboldened Shujā to make a fresh bid for power. But his hopes were shattered when Aurangzeb signally defeated him at Khajwah, near Allahābād, on the 5th January, 1659. He was chased by Mīr Jumla

through West Bengal to Dacca and thence to Arākān in May, 1660. Nothing was again heard of Shujā. He was probably slaughtered with his family by the Arākānese. Aurangzeb's eldest son, Prince Muhammad, having quarrelled with Mīr Jumla, joined Shujā for a time. But he was punished for this with imprisonment for life and met his death about 1676.

When fortune went against Dārā Shukoh, his son, Sulaimān Shukoh, was also deserted by his generals and soldiers, who thought that there was no gain in following the "losing side any longer". After fleeing from place to place, Sulaimān Shukoh, with his wife, a few other ladies, his foster-brother, Muhammad Shāh, and only seventeen followers, found refuge with a Hindu Rājā of the Garhwal Hills, who "was all kindness and attention to his princely guest in distress". But pressed by Aurangzeb, his host's son betrayed him into the hands of his enemies on the 27th December, 1660. The captive prince, then in the prime of his youth and singularly handsome, was brought in chains before Aurangzeb and told him that he would prefer immediate death to slow poisoning by means of *poustā* drink or "infusion of opium-poppy heads". Aurangzeb promised "that this drink should not be administered, and that his mind might be perfectly easy". But the promise was not kept, and the dreadful drink was administered every morning to the unlucky prince until in May, 1662, "he was sent to the next world through the exertions of his keepers". Dārā Shukoh's younger son, Sipihr Shukoh, and Murād's son, Izid Bakhsh, not being considered serious rivals, were granted their lives and were subsequently married to the third and the fifth of Aurangzeb's daughters respectively.

The story of Dārā Shukoh's end is no less sad and pathetic than that of his brother, Murād, or of his son, Sulaimān Shukoh. After the capture of Āgra by Aurangzeb and the captivity of Shāh Jahān, Dārā Shukoh fled from Delhi to Lahore, where he busied himself in preparations to encounter the pursuing troops of Aurangzeb. He adopted some measures to guard the ferries over the Sutlej and hoped that as the rains set in, it would take some time for Aurangzeb to reach Lahore. "But in hoping thus," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "he had counted without Aurangzeb's energy and strength of will, before which every obstacle—human or physical—gave way." About a month after Dārā's arrival at Lahore, his "dreaded rival" crossed the Sutlej with his army and drove Dārā with his family to Multān. The fugitive prince, still chased from place to place by the chief officers of Aurangzeb, who himself had returned to the east in September, 1657, to remove

the dangers created by Shujā and Sulaimān Shukoh, at last succeeded in reaching Gujarāt. Here he was unexpectedly fortunate in being welcomed (January, 1659) and helped financially by its newly appointed governor, Shāh Nawāz Khān, who cherished resentment against Aurangzeb. Being thus able to recuperate his strength to some extent, Dārā was thinking of returning to the Deccan, where he expected support from the Shiah rulers of Bijāpur and Golkundā. This would have been the right policy for him. But Jaswant Singh, who had been already won over by Aurangzeb, lured him by promises of help to march towards Ajmer. The Rājput chief, whose conduct during this war of succession was questionable, proved false to his promises and Dārā could not get the much-hoped-for Rājput help. He was forced to fight with Aurangzeb, who had arrived near Ajmer. Considering it inadvisable, in view of his scanty resources, to meet the overwhelming strength of his enemy's army in a pitched battle in the open field, Dārā entrenched himself in a strong and admirably selected position at the pass of Deorāi, four miles south of Ajmer, and fought for three days, 12th–14th April, 1659. But he was ultimately defeated and found safety in hurried flight. Hunted from place to place (Rājputāna, Cutch and Sind) by the troops of Aurangzeb under Jai Singh and Bahādur Khān, Dārā found no asylum in India. He hurried towards the north-west frontier in June, 1659, and sought shelter with Jiwān Khān, the Afghān chief of Dadar (a place nine miles east of the Bolān Pass), whom he had saved, a few years back, from the sentence of death passed on him by Shāh Jahān. But on the way to Dadar "the greatest of all misfortunes" befell him. His wife, Nādira Begam, who had been his devoted companion in his days of wanderings and had been suffering for some time from an attack of diarrhoea, now succumbed to prolonged hardships and want of medicine and rest. This threw Dārā into utter bewilderment and intense grief.[1] "Mountain after mountain of trouble," remarks Khāfī Khān, "thus pressed upon the heart of Dārā, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium." To add to his misfortune, the faithless Afghān chief betrayed him and made him over, with his two daughters and his second son, Sipihr Shukoh,

[1] It should be noted that the Mughul princes, in spite of their polygamous habits, showed an intense passion of conjugal love. As Dr. Smith points out, "A beautiful album in the India Office Library is a pathetic memorial of Dara Shukoh's love". It bears the following inscription in his handwriting: "This album was presented to his nearest and dearest friend, the Lady Nādirah Begam, by Prince Muhammad Dārā Shukoh, son of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the year 1051" (A.D. 1641–1642).

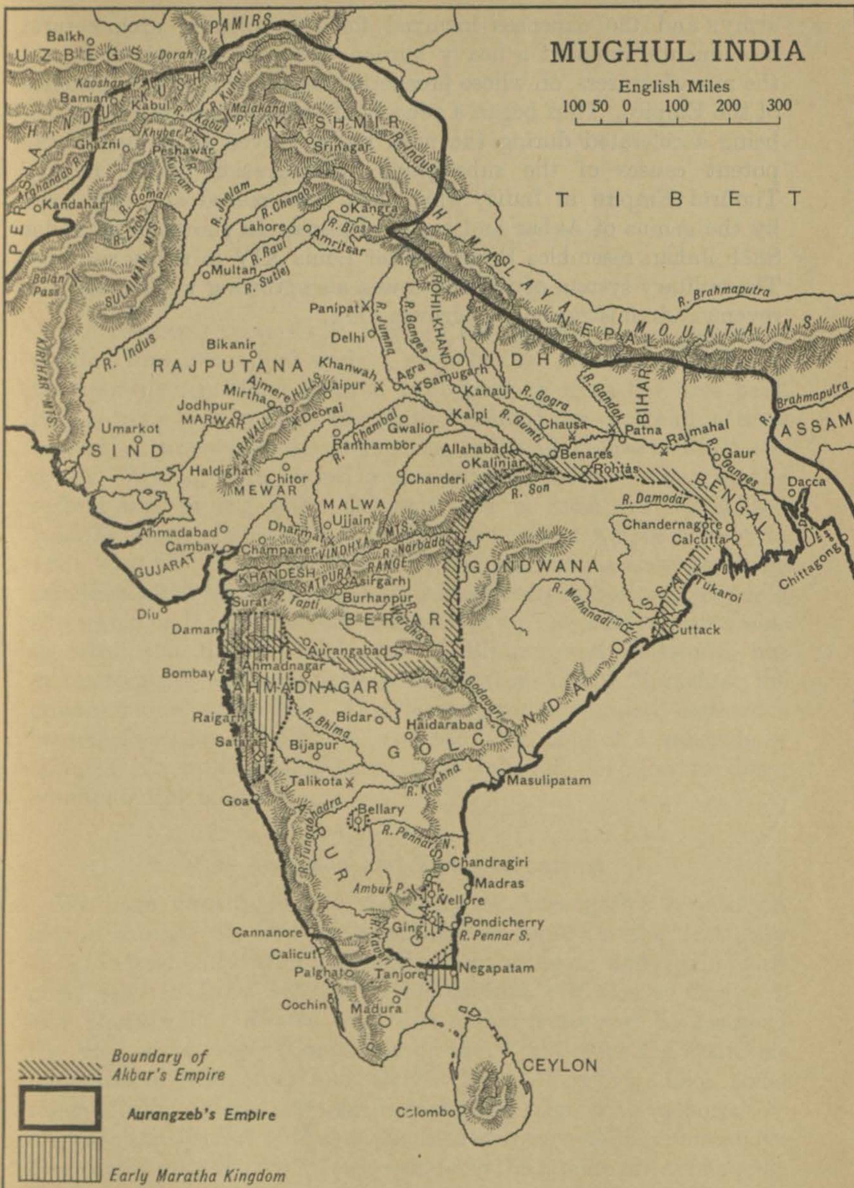
to Bahādur Khān, who brought the captives to Delhi on the 23rd August, 1659. On the 29th of the same month they were paraded throughout the city. "To complete his humiliation," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "Dārā was seated in an uncovered *howdāh* on the back of a small female elephant covered with dirt. . . . Exposed to the full blaze of an August sun, he was taken through the scenes of his former glory and splendour. In the bitterness of disgrace, he did not raise his head, nor cast his glance on any side, but sat like a crushed twig." His tragic plight excited pity in the hearts of the citizens. Bernier, an eye-witness of the scene, writes: "The crowd assembled was immense; and everywhere I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dārā in the most touching language. . . . From every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks . . . men, women and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves." But not a single hand could be raised to rescue the unfortunate prince, as he was girt round by cavalry and archers. Then a popular riot, directed against the traitor Malik Jiwān Khān, broke out on the 30th August. This riot hastened the end of Dārā, whose life could no longer be prolonged by Aurangzeb. His case was placed before the Doctors of Muslim law, who condemned him on a charge of deviation from the Islamic faith. On the night of the 30th August the executioners snatched Sipihr away from his father's embrace and beheaded Dārā. By Aurangzeb's order his corpse was paraded throughout the city to let the people know that their favourite was no more, and then buried in a vault under the dome of the tomb of Humāyūn. Thus the reign of Shāh Jahān, which had begun with high prospects, came to a close in a series of dark tragedies.

I. A Critical Estimate of Shāh Jahān's Character and Reign

Shāh Jahān was not essentially an unrelenting or excessively pleasure-seeking ruler, as European writers like Roe, Terry, Bernier, and De Laet considered him to be, and, as a modern writer, Dr. Smith, also holds. There are, of course, certain instances of his severity. Stern as a conqueror and unsparing to his political rivals, Shāh Jahān indeed acquired his throne by means that left unpleasant memories; but when we take into consideration the circumstances in which he had been placed through the ceaseless intrigues of Nūr Jahān, "we lose", as Dow writes, "half our rage in the pressure of circumstances that drove him to such a ghastly step". Further, "for these early crimes he

made ample amends by the strict justice and clemency of his government and his solicitude for the well-being of his subjects". Thus he did much to alleviate the sufferings of the people during the severe famine of 1631–1632 and displayed considerable industry in the task of administration. Though not as great a warrior as some of his ancestors, Shāh Jahān was not devoid of military qualities. He was a zealous champion of his faith. He revived the pilgrimage tax and took steps not only to check the conversion of the Muslims to other faiths but also to add to their number. Brought up by Ruqayyā Begam, he could read and speak in Turkī, and trained in his early life by such eminent teachers as Mullā Qāsīm Beg Tabrezī, Hakim Dawāi, Shaikh 'Abdul Khair and Shaikh Sūfī, he could speak both Persian and Hindī. Not pitiless by nature, Shāh Jahān was a loving father and a devoted husband. He had an intense love for Mumtāz Mahal, whom he had married in 1612. The couple enjoyed a happy life for about nineteen years, and Mumtāz was her husband's unfailing friend and prudent adviser in the days of his adversity. She died in child-birth in 1631, and to immortalise her name, Shāh Jahān built on her grave the famous Tāj Mahal, which stands unrivalled as a memorial of conjugal attachment.

The reign of Shāh Jahān is usually considered to have been the golden period of Mughul rule in India, which then reached its climax. There was no serious challenge to the Emperor's authority before the war of succession. No grave external menace threatened India itself. The period saw the development of the export trade between India and Western Asia and the beginning of the export trade with Europe, and the finances of the State were flourishing. It was also marked by pomp and splendour, which were amply attested by brilliant productions in architecture, like the magnificent *Tāj*, the *Pearl Mosque* of Āgra, the *Diwān-i-'Am*, the *Diwān-i-khās*, the *Jāmi' Masjid* and the "celebrated Peacock Throne". All these lead one to believe that peace and prosperity prevailed throughout the Empire. But a careful study of the accounts of the contemporary European travellers, and the records of the English factories in India, show "that there were shadows in the picture which were ignored by the court annalists". Beneath the surface of outward splendour and apparent prosperity, there were some grievous anomalies in the economic system of the country. The factory records of the time bear out the statement of Bernier that the misrule of the provincial governors "often deprived the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life". Further, the maintenance of an elaborate bureaucracy and a large


MUGHUL INDIA
English Miles
100 50 0 100 200 300
TIBET
PAMIRS
Balkh
UZBEGS
Dorah P.
Kaoshan P.
Bamian
HINDU KUSH
Kabul
R. Kunar
Malakand P.
R. Kabul
KASHMIR
Khyber P.
Ghazni
Peshawar
Srinagar
R. Indus
Arghandab R.
R. Kurram
PERSIA
Kandahar
R. Gomal
R. Jhelam
R. Chenab
Kangra
R. Zhob
Lahore
R. Bias
Amritsar
SULAIMAN MTS.
R. Ravi
Multan
R. Sutlej
Bolan Pass
HIMALAYA
R. Brahmaputra
Panipat
R. Jumna
R. Ganges
ROHILKHAND
NEPAL MOUNTAINS
Delhi
KIRTHAR MTS.
R. Indus
Bikanir
RAJPUTANA
Khanwah
Agra
Samugarh
OUDH
Ajmere
HILLS
Jaipur
R. Gandak
BIHAR
Mirtha
R. Gogra
Kanauj
Jodhpur
MARWAR
Deorai
ARAVALLI
R. Chambal
Gwalior
Kalpi
R. Gumti
Chausa
Patna
Rajmahal
ASSAM
Umarkot
SIND
Ranthambor
Allahabad
Kalinjar
Benares
Gaur
Brahmaputra
Haldighat
Chitor
MEWAR
Chanderi
Rohtas
R. Son
BENGAL
Dacca
R. Ganges
R. Damodar
MALWA
Ujjain
Ahmadabad
Dharmat
VINDHYA MTS.
Chandernagore
Calcutta
Cambay
Champaner
R. Narbadda
GUJARAT
KHANDESH
SATPURA RANGE
Asirgarh
GONDWANA
Chittagong
Surat
R. Tapti
Burhanpur
Tukaroi
Diu
Daman
BERAR
R. Wardha
R. Mahanadi
ORISSA
Cuttack
Aurangabad
Bombay
Ahmadnagar
AHMADNAGAR
R. Godavari
Raigarh
R. Bhima
Bidar
Haidarabad
Satara
Bijapur
GOLCONDA
Talikota
R. Krishna
Masulipatam
Goa
R. Tungabhadra
Bellary
BIJAPUR
R. Pennar N.
Chandragiri
Madras
Ambur P.
Vellore
Gingi
Pondicherry
R. Pennar S.
Cannanore
R. Kaveri
Calicut
Negapatam
Palghat
Tanjore
Cochin
Madura
CEYLON
Colombo
Boundary of Akbar's Empire
Aurangzeb's Empire
Early Maratha Kingdom

army, and the expenses incurred for the splendid architectural monuments, imposed a heavy burden upon the agriculturists and the manufacturers, on whose prosperity depended the very existence of the Empire. Thus began a process of national insolvency, which, being accelerated during the next reign, proved to be one of the potent causes of the subsequent disintegration of the mighty Tīmūrīd Empire in India, which had been reared and developed by the genius of Akbar and his coadjutors. In short, India under Shāh Jahān resembles France under Louis XIV in many respects. The military system of the State was also growing weaker and the revenue administration was growing lax.

CHAPTER IV

AURANGZEB 'ĀLAMGĪR (1658–1707)

1. Two Halves of the Reign

AURANGZEB'S remarkable reign of fifty years can be "naturally divided into two equal parts", each having its own well-defined features distinguishing it from the other. During the first part, that is from 1658 to 1681, the north remained the centre of interest and of all important developments, civil and military, while the south "figured as a far-off and negligible factor". But in the second half of the reign the centre of political gravity shifted from Northern India to the Deccan, where the Emperor went in 1681 with his family, his court and the bulk of his army, and the administration of the north was consequently neglected, plunging the whole of it into disorder and anarchy. The Emperor was able to crush the Muslim Sultānates of Bijāpur and Golkundā, but in his struggle with the nascent nationalism of the Marāthas, the issue remained undecided. The Deccan exodus produced disastrous consequences for the Empire, and the long reign of Aurangzeb, in spite of his wonderful industry and splendid devotion to duty, culminated in tragedy.

2. Accession and Two Coronations

We have already related the story of Aurangzeb's acquisition of the throne. He was twice enthroned—once on the 21st July 1658, immediately after his occupation of Āgra, and again with great éclat in June, 1659, after his decisive victories at Khajwah and Deorāi. The *Khutba* was read in his name and he assumed the title of *'Ālamgīr* (Conqueror of the World) with the additions of *Pādshāh* (Emperor) and *Ghāzī* (Holy Warrior). Like some other Muslim rulers, Aurangzeb began his reign with attempts to alleviate the distress of the people, caused by general administrative disorders during the war of succession and the famine prices of goods. He remitted many vexatious cesses and taxes, but, as in the case of earlier rulers, his prohibition, except in one or two cases, "had no effect".

3. Territorial Expansion: North-Eastern Push

The territorial expansion of the Mughul Empire, which was a process continuing through two centuries, went on apace in the reign of Aurangzeb. If we exclude the losses of the preceding reign in Qandahār and Central Asia, the conquests of the Emperors had remained intact, and before the rise of the Marātha kingdom in the south, Aurangzeb's "ambitious and enterprising officers" successfully extended their master's dominion. Palāmau was conquered in 1661 by Dāūd Khān, the governor of Bihār. On the eastern frontier of the Empire the officers of Aurangzeb found ample scope for their energies. In 1661 Mīr Jumla, the governor of Bengal, set out with a well equipped army towards this frontier to check the aggressions of the Āhoms. A people of Mongoloid origin, the Āhoms had migrated from their original home in Upper Burma and occupied a part of the Brahmaputra valley as early as the thirteenth century A.D. Gradually extending their territories to the west during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they established a dominion which by the end of the seventeenth century stretched up to the Bar Nadī river in the north-west and the Kalāng river in the south-west. Here they were gradually Hinduised and adopted the Hindu religion and customs. At the same time, the eastern limit of the Mughul Empire had been extended up to the Bar Nadī river by the conquest of Koch Hājo, embracing the present districts of Kāmarūpa and Goālpārā. This made a conflict between the Mughuls and the Āhoms inevitable. As a matter of fact, the Mughuls had already had to fight hard with the Āhoms, when the latter raided the eastern frontier of the Empire during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and a peace was concluded early in 1639. But taking advantage of the war of succession, the Āhoms occupied Gauhātī in 1658 and seized 140 horses, 40 pieces of cannon, 200 matchlocks and much property. To punish these aggressors, Mīr Jumla started from Dacca early in November, 1661, with a powerful army of 12,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry, provided with artillery, provisions for siege and a number of armed boats, which were indispensably necessary for carrying on war in those parts. His early operations were successful. He conquered both Cooch Bihār and Assam, and sharing with the common soldiers all the hardships which the "opposition of Nature and man" could impose during his "triumphant march", he reached Garhgāon, the capital of the Āhom kingdom, on the 17th March, 1662. The Āhoms now offered little resistance and left their capital and property to the mercy of the imperialists, who got enormous spoils.

But Nature soon fought for the Āhoms. With the commencement of the rainy season, Mīr Jumla's army suffered terribly from the unhealthy climate and lack of provisions and medicine. Emboldened by this, the Āhoms, who "had been scared away and not crushed", soon resumed the offensive and began to harass the Mughuls, whose sufferings increased owing to the outbreak of pestilence and famine in their camp. But, undaunted by the odds, the Mughul governor continued to fight and resumed the offensive after the rains. Considering that further resistance would be of no avail, the Āhoms concluded a treaty of peace with the imperialists. Thus, "judged as a military exploit", remarks Sir J. N. Sarkar, "Mīr Jumla's invasion of Assam was a success". The Āhom king, Jayadhvaj, promised to pay an annual tribute, and a heavy war-indemnity, a part of which was to be delivered immediately and the rest was to be cleared off during the next twelve months in three equal instalments. The Mughuls were also to occupy more than half the province of Darrang, rich in elephants. But this success was purchased at a great cost. It caused immense hardships to the Mughuls and the loss of many lives, including that of Mīr Jumla himself, one of Aurangzeb's best generals, who died on the 30th March, 1663, on his way back to Dacca. It was also short-lived. A few years later the Āhoms reoccupied Kāmarūpa. The Mughul government carried on a long desultory warfare, but with no permanent advantage.

Shāista Khān, son of Āsaf Khan, and maternal uncle of Aurangzeb, was appointed governor of Bengal after the short and unsuccessful administration of an acting viceroy, which immediately followed the death of Mīr Jumla. He held this post for about thirty years, with a break of less than three years, and died at Āgra in 1694, when he was more than ninety years old. He chastised the Portuguese pirates, annexed the island of Sondīp in the Bay of Bengal, which had been a stronghold of pirates, and conquered Chittagong (1666) from their ally, the King of Arākān. But the evil of piracy could not be wholly eradicated. It continued to harass the people of eastern Bengal till late in the eighteenth century.

4. The North-West Frontier Policy

Out of political and economic considerations, Aurangzeb had to follow a forward policy on the north-west frontier, where the turbulent Muslim tribes had all along proved a source of great anxiety to the Mughul Empire. The scanty produce of the fields of that region forced upon the growing numbers of the hardy

Afghān clans living there the habits of highway robbery and of blackmailing the rich cities of the north-western Punjab. In order to keep the north-western passes open and the valleys at their foot safe, the government of Aurangzeb first tried to win over these hillmen by payments of money. But "even political pensions were not always effective in securing obedience". Troubles began early in A.D 1667, when the Yūsufzāīs rose in arms under one of their leaders named Bhāgū. A large number of them crossed the Indus above Attock and invaded the Hazāra district, while other bands began to ravage the western Peshāwār and Attock districts. The Yūsufzāī rising was, however, suppressed in the course of a few months.

But in 1672 the Afrīdīs rose in revolt against the Mughuls under their chieftain Akmal Khān, who crowned himself king and summoned all the Pathāns to organise themselves in a sort of national war. In the month of May the insurgents inflicted a crushing defeat on Muhammad Āmin Khān at 'Ālī Masjid. Muhammad Āmin, and some of his senior officers, escaped, but the Mughuls lost everything else. This victory increased the prestige and resources of Akmal Khān and lured more recruits to his side so that "the whole of the Pathān land from Attock to Qandahār" rose in arms. The Khattak clan of the Pathāns also joined the Afrīdīs, and Khūsh-hāl Khān, the poet and hero of the former, "became the leading spirit of the national rising and inspired the tribesmen with his pen and sword alike". In February, 1674, the Afghāns assailed an imperial force under Shujā'at Khān, who was killed, though the remnant of his army was rescued by a Rāthor contingent, sent by Jaswant Singh to support the Mughuls.

This disaster convinced Aurangzeb that more serious efforts were necessary to restore imperial prestige in the north-west. He went in person to Hasan Abdāl, near Peshāwār, early in July, 1674, and by a clever combination of diplomacy and arms achieved much success. Many Afghān clans were bought over with presents, pensions, *jāgīrs*, and offices, while the more refractory ones were subdued by arms. When the situation had considerably improved, the Emperor left the Punjab for Delhi by December, 1675. The success of Aurangzeb was confirmed by the wise policy of Āmin Khān, the capable governor of Afghānistān from 1677 to 1698, who followed a tactful conciliatory policy under the wise advice of his wife, Sāhibjī, a daughter of 'Ālī Mardān Khān. Thus the Mughul Emperor was able to suppress the Afghān risings, and restore imperial prestige, in the north-west "by following the

policy of paying subsidies, or by setting up one clan against another—or, to use his own metaphor, breaking two bones by knocking them together". The Khattak hero, Khūsh-hāl, continued to fight for several years more, till his own son proved to be his worst enemy and betrayed him to the Mughuls.

There is no doubt that the frontier wars of the Mughuls were brought to a successful conclusion. But their indirect effects were prejudicial to the interests of the Empire. As Sir J. N. Sarkar observes: "Ruinous as the Afghān war was to imperial finances, its political effect was even more harmful. It made the employment of the Afghāns in the ensuing Rājput war impossible, though the Afghāns were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory in that rugged and barren country. Moreover, it relieved the pressure on Shivājī by draining the Deccan of the best Mughul troops for service on the north-west frontier. The Marātha chief took advantage of this division of his enemy's strength to sweep in a dazzling succession of triumphs through Golkundā to the Karnātak and back again through Mysore and Bijāpur to Rāigarh, during the fifteen months following December, 1675. It was the climax of his career; but the Afrīdīs and the Khattaks made his unbroken success possible."

5. Relations with the Muslim World outside India

Between 1661 and 1667 Aurangzeb received "complimentary embassies" from some foreign Muslim powers, such as the Sharif of Mecca, the Kings of Persia, Balkh, Bukhārā, Kāshghar, Urganj (Khiva) and Shahr-i-nau, the Turkish governors of Basra, Hadramaut, Yaman and Mocha, the ruler of Barbary, and the King of Abyssinia. From Constantinople only one embassy came during his reign, in June, 1590. "His policy at the beginning was," remarks Sir J. N. Sarkar, "to dazzle the eyes of foreign princes by the lavish gifts of presents to them and their envoys, and induce the outer Muslim world to forget his treatment of his father and brothers, or at least to show courtesy to the successful man of action and master of India's untold wealth, especially when he was free with his money."

6. Aurangzeb's Religious Attitude and Policy

Aurangzeb was above all a zealous Sunnī Muslim, and his religious policy was not influenced by any consideration of worldly gain. As one who secured the throne as the champion of Sunni

orthodoxy against the liberal Dārā, he tried to enforce strictly the Quranic law, according to which it behoves every pious Muslim to "exert himself in the path of God", or, in other words, to carry on holy wars (*jihād*) against non-Muslim lands (*dār-ul-harb*) till they are converted into realms of Islam (*dār-ul-Islām*). This made him extremely puritanic in temperament, so that he took several steps to enforce "his own ideas of the morose seriousness of life and punctilious orthodoxy". He simplified the customary celebrations on his birthday and coronation day. From the eleventh year of his reign he discontinued the practice of *Jharokā-darśan*, a practice by which his predecessors appeared every morning on the balcony on the wall of the palace to accept the salute of the people, who then gathered on the ground in front. In the same year he forbade music at court and dismissed the old musicians and singers. But music, though banned from the court, could not be "banished from the human soul". It continued to be secretly practised by the nobles, and the imperial prohibition had some force only in important cities. In the twelfth year the ceremony of weighing the Emperor's body on two birthdays against gold, silver and other commodities was given up, and royal astronomers and astrologers were dismissed. But the belief of the Muslims in astrology was too deeply rooted in their minds to be removed by an imperial ordinance; it remained active till late in the eighteenth century. In order to avoid the *Kalima* (Muhammadan confession of faith) on the coins being defiled by men of other faiths, he forbade its use. He also abolished the *Nauroz*, which the Mughul Emperors of India had borrowed from Persia. He appointed Censors of Public Morals (*Muhtasibs*) to "regulate the lives of the people in strict accordance with the Holy Law".

Aurangzeb personally practised what he sought to enforce on others. His private life was marked by a high standard of morality, and he scrupulously abstained from the common vices of his time. Thus he was regarded by his contemporaries as a "*darvish* born in the purple" and the Muslims venerated him as a "*Zindā Pīr*" or living saint. To "promote general morality", he issued a number of regulations. He passed an ordinance prohibiting the production, sale and public use, of wine and *bhāng*. Manucci tells us that the dancing girls and public women were ordered either to get themselves married or to leave the kingdom. The Emperor also passed strict orders against singing obscene songs, and stopped the burning of faggots and processions during certain religious festivals. It is mentioned in the official "guide-books" of Aurangzeb's reign that he forbade *Satī* (December, 1663), but "the evidence of

contemporary European travellers in India shows that the royal prohibition was seldom observed".

The Emperor, however, did not rest satisfied with these regulations only. He issued other *firmans* and ukases, which marked the inauguration of a new policy in regard to important sections of the people. The year 1679 saw the reimposition of the *jizya* tax on "unbelievers".

The new regulations and ordinances must have produced a deep impression on the people affected, and added much to the difficulties with which the imperial government had to deal. No one can deny the Emperor Aurangzeb the credit of being a sincere and conscientious exponent of the faith that was in him. But it is also true that his ardour and zeal made him oblivious of the fact that the country over which destiny had placed him to rule was not inhabited by a homogeneous population but included various elements rich in their religious traditions and ideals, which needed tactful and sympathetic understanding. Aurangzeb certainly made a mistake in identifying the interests of the State with those of his faith and in offending those who differed from it. This policy generated feelings of discontent among certain sections of the people, which by distracting his energies during the remainder of his reign proved to be one of the most potent causes of the decline and fall of the Mughul Empire.

7. Reaction against the New Policy

A. The Jāts, the Bundelās and the Satnāmīs

The first serious outbreak of anti-imperial reaction took place among the Jāts of the Muttrā (Mathurā) district, where the imperial *faujdār*, 'Abdun-Nabī, had oppressed them greatly. In 1669 the sturdy Jāt peasantry rose under a leader, Gokla, zamindār of Tilpat, killed the *faujdār*, and kept the whole district in disorder for a year, till they were suppressed by a strong imperial force under Hasan 'Ālī Khān, the new *faujdār* of Muttrā. Gokla was put to death and the members of his family converted to Islam. But this did not crush the Jāts permanently. They rose once again in 1685 under the leadership of Rājā Rām and plundered Akbar's tomb at Sikandra in 1688. Rājā Rām was defeated and slain and the principal stronghold of the Jāts was reduced in 1691. But they soon found a more formidable leader in Churāman, who welded the disorganised Jāts into a strong military power and organised an armed resistance against the Mughuls after Aurangzeb's death.

The second armed protest against Aurangzeb's policy was led by the Bundelā prince, Chhatrasāl. We have already traced the early relations of the Mughuls with the Bundelās. Chhatrasāl's father, Champat Rāi, had risen against Aurangzeb during the early part of his reign, but hard pressed by the Emperor, he committed suicide to escape imprisonment. Chhatrasāl had served the Emperor in the Deccan, where, inspired by the example of Shivājī, he "dreamt of taking to a life of adventure and independence". The discontent of the Hindu population of Bundelkhand and Mālwa gave him the opportunity to stand forth "as the champion" of his faith and Bundelā liberty by 1671. He gained several victories over the Mughuls, and succeeded in carving out an independent principality for himself in Eastern Mālwa with its capital at Panna, before his death in 1731.

Another revolt occurred in March, 1672, among the Satnāmīs, who were originally an inoffensive sect of Hindu devotees with their centres at Nārnol (in the Patiāla State) and Mewāt (Ālwar region). Khāfī Khān writes of them: "These men dress like devotees, but they nevertheless carry on trade and agriculture, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion, they have dignified themselves with the title of 'Good name', this being the meaning of Satnām. They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it. Many of them have weapons or arms." The immediate cause of the rising of the Satnāmīs was the murder of one of them by a Mughul foot-soldier. They occupied Nārnol, and when the situation proved to be serious the Mughul Emperor "ordered his tents to be brought out". The untrained Satnāmī peasants were soon overpowered by a large imperial force. "Very few of them escaped, and that tract of country was cleared" of them.

B. The Sikhs

The new imperial policy caused discontent among the Sikhs also. We may conveniently give here a short history of the Sikhs during the reigns of the predecessors of Aurangzeb before we deal with his relations with them. The Sikh community, destined to play an important part in the history of Modern India, came into being during the period of religious revival which marked the history of India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was originally founded as a religious sect by Guru Nānak, a religious preacher of saintly disposition, who emphasised the

fundamental truth underlying all religions, and the chief features of whose system were its "non-sectarian character" and its harmony with secular life. He died in 1538 after nominating one of his disciples, Angad (1538–1552), as his successor, excluding his two sons. Angad and the next Guru, Amardās (1552–1574), were men of high character. Amardās was succeeded in the Guru's office by his son-in-law, Rāmdās (1574–1581). Akbar, who had a great veneration for this Guru, granted him a plot of land at Amritsar containing a pool, which was enlarged and improved and on the side of which was constructed a famous Sikh temple. It was during Rāmdās' pontificate that the succession to the spiritual headship of the Sikhs became hereditary. The fifth Guru, Arjan Mal (1581–1606), was a man of great organising capacity. Under him the Sikh community grew in numbers and spread far and wide over the Punjab. He compiled the *Ādi Granth*, or "the First Sacred Book", as the original Sikh scripture is called, by collecting select verses from the works of his four predecessors as well as from those of the Hindu and Muhammadan saints who had appeared since the days of Jaidev. He did his best to consolidate the Church, and the prestige and wealth of the Guru increased considerably. As a contemporary remarked: "The Emperor (Akbar) and Kings bow before him. Wealth ever cometh to him." His predecessors had been content with the "fluctuating voluntary offerings" of their disciples, but Guru Arjan tried to organise the finances of his Church by introducing the system of a more or less compulsory "spiritual tribute" to be collected by a band of his agents called *masands*. The early Gurus were religious preachers and did not interfere in politics, but Guru Arjan gave his blessings to the rebel prince Khusrav. Jahāngīr, who had probably grown suspicious of the Guru for his great wealth and influence, put him to death in 1606 on a charge of treason. This must have offended the Sikhs, whose hostility to the Mughul Empire was not, however, openly manifested at this time. The next Guru, Har Govind (1606–1645), son of Arjan, was a man of warlike and adventurous spirit, and gathered a small army round him. Though employed under Jahāngīr, he had to undergo twelve years' imprisonment in Gwālior for his refusal to pay the arrears of the fine that had been imposed on his father. He rose against Shāh Jahān and defeated an imperial army at Sangrāma near Amritsar in 1628. But he was ultimately overpowered and forced to take refuge at Kiratpur in the Kāshmīr Hills, where he died in 1645 after nominating his younger grandson, Har Rāi (1645–1661), as his successor. Har Rāi was followed in the Guruship,

after his death in 1661, by his second son, Har Kishan (1661–1664). Nothing important happened during the regimes of these two Gurus, but "the fiscal policy of Arjan, and the armed system of his son, had already formed the Sikhs into a kind of separate state within the empire".

Har Kishan died in 1664, and after some quarrels about succession to the Guruship, Teg Bahādur, second son of Har Govind, the sixth Guru, was recognised as the spiritual head of the community by most of the Sikhs. He settled at Ānandpur, six miles from Kiratpur. He lived for a few months at Patna in Bihār, where his son, Guru Govind, was born (A.D. 1666). He joined Rājā Rām Singh, son of Mīrzā Rājā Jai Singh, in the Assam war (A.D. 1668), but soon returned to his original abode at Ānandpur and was drawn into hostilities with the imperial government. He protested against certain measures of the Emperor and encouraged the Brāhmaṇas of Kāshmīr to resist these. This was too much for Aurangzeb to tolerate. He caused the Sikh divine to be arrested and brought over to Delhi, where he was offered the choice between death and conversion. Teg Bahādur preferred his faith to his life and was executed after five days (A.D. 1675). Thus he gave his head but not his faith (*sir diā sar na diā*). The martyrdom of the Guru inspired the Sikhs with feelings of revenge against the Mughul Empire and made an open war inevitable. The son and successor of Teg Bahādur, Guru Govind, was one of the most remarkable personalities in Indian history. He set himself to the task of organising his followers with the thoroughness "of a Grecian law-giver". He instituted the custom of baptism (*Pahul*) by water stirred with a dagger. Those who accepted the new form of baptism were known as the Khalsa (pure) and were given the appellation of *Singhs* (lions). They had to wear the five *Ks*— *kes* (long hair), *kangha* (comb), *kripān* (sword), *kachcha* (short drawers), and *kara* (steel bracelet). They were not to show their backs to the foe in battle. They were ever to help the poor and the unfortunate. Guru Govind compiled a supplementary *Granth*, known as the *Daswen Padshah kā Granth* ('the Book of the Tenth Sovereign'). He fought against some neighbouring hill-princes and Mughul officers with remarkable courage and tenacity. It is said that he assisted Bāhādur in his contest for the throne, and subsequently proceeded with him to the Deccan. An Afghān fanatic stabbed him to death, towards the end of 1708, at Nandur on the banks of the Godāvarī.

C. The Rājput War

The comparatively minor anti-imperial risings were suppressed by Aurangzeb. But more formidable revolts, also originating as a sort of reaction against the Emperor's policy, produced disastrous consequences for his Empire. Failing to realise the value of the alliance of the Rājputs, who had previously contributed so much to the growth of the Empire, he introduced a change in the policy of the State towards them. Rājā Jay Singh of Amber, whom he considered to be a powerful leader of Rājput opposition against his own policy, lost his life in the Deccan in 1667.

The conquest of Mārwār next engaged his attention from more than one consideration. It occupied a position of strategic importance as controlling certain military and commercial routes from the Mughul capital to the rich cities and ports in Western India. Further, its position as a powerful military State in Northern India at that time was a standing annoyance to Aurangzeb. He suspected that its chief, Jaswant Singh, formerly a partisan of Dārā Shukoh, might stand forth as the leader of opposition to his policy.

The Emperor soon had a favourable opportunity to give effect to his designs against Mārwār. While commanding the Mughul frontier posts in the Khyber Pass and the Peshāwār district, Rājā Jaswant Singh died at Jamrūd on the 10th December, 1678. On hearing this news Aurangzeb forthwith took steps to annex Mārwār. He appointed there his own officers as *faujdār*, *qilādār*, *kotwāl* and *amīn*, and brought it under direct Mughul rule. The Rāthors, thrown into confusion and dismay by the death of their chief, failed to present any united national resistance. In the month of May, Indra Singh Rāthor, the chieftain of Nagor and grand-nephew of Jaswant, was recognised as the Rānā of Jodhpur on payment of a "succession fee" of thirty-six lacs of rupees. But he was nothing more than a nominal ruler, surrounded by Mughul officers.

Thus the Emperor's policy seemed to have been crowned with success. But Mārwār was not really subdued. Every Rājput house in that kingdom became determined to undo the imperial *coup de main*, and "a new factor now entered the scene to disturb and eventually to defeat the imperial policy". Already in the month of February, 1679, two posthumous sons of Jaswant were born at Lahore. One of them died soon after birth, but the other, Ajit Singh, survived and was taken to Delhi by the principal followers of his father, who requested the Emperor to recognise him as

heir to the deceased Rājā. But the Emperor offered to bring him up in his harem, or, according to another contemporary account, "the throne of Jodhpur was offered to Ajit on condition of his turning a Muslim". This extraordinary proposal of the Emperor severely wounded the feelings of the Rāthors, who vowed to sacrifice their lives rather than accept these terms. But devotion and reckless courage only could be of no avail against the organised strength of the imperialists. Luckily for the Rāthors, they had, at this critical moment, a worthy leader in Durgādās (a son of Jaswant's minister Askaran), "the flower of Rāthor chivalry".

In the history of Rājputāna, Durgādās is justly regarded as one of the immortals for his selfless devotion to the cause of his country in the face of terrible odds. "Mughul gold could not seduce, Mughul arms could not daunt, that constant heart. Almost alone among the Rāthors he displayed the rare combination of the dash and reckless valour of a Rājput soldier with the tact, diplomacy and organising power of a Mughul minister of state." A band of "death-loving" Rājputs rushed upon the imperial force that had been sent to seize the Rānīs and Ajit Singh, and, taking advantage of the prevailing confusion, Durgādās rode away with the intended victims, clad in male attire. He covered nine miles before the imperialists could overtake him, but here a small band of Rājputs under Ranchordās Jodha tried to hold back the pursuers as long as they could, and Durgādās was able to reach Jodhpur on the 23rd July, 1679, with the Rānīs and Ajit. Aurangzeb now called up heavy reinforcements from different provinces, and the three princes, Mu'azzam, 'A'zam and Akbar, were placed in command of separate divisions of the army. He himself marched to Ajmer in August, 1679, to direct the military operations. Jodhpur was captured and pillaged.

But this aggressive policy of the Mughul Emperor led the brave Sisodiās of Mewār to join the desperate Rāthors of Mārwār. Rānā Rāj Singh of Mewār was a relative of Ajit Singh, whose mother was a Sisodiā princess. He also considered that the annexation of Mārwār exposed Mewār to the danger of Mughul conquest. Further, the revival of the *jizya*, after many years, incensed him highly. Through the Rāthor–Sisodiā alliance, the Rājput war assumed the aspect of a national rising in defence of liberty.

Aurangzeb at once invaded Mewār, but the Rānā, considering it unwise to meet face to face the superior strength of the Mughuls, deserted the towns and hamlets of Mewār and retired with all his subjects to mountain fastnesses after laying waste

the plains below. The Mughuls easily occupied Chitor. Sure of success, the Emperor started for Ajmer, leaving a strong force in Chitor under Prince Akbar. But he was soon disillusioned. The Rājputs carried on a guerilla warfare and fell on the Mughul outposts with so much courage that "the command of Mughul outposts went a-begging, captain after captain declining the dangerous honour and offering excuses". Emboldened by their successes, the Rājputs surprised the Mughul army under Prince Akbar in May, 1690, and carried off its provisions. Reduced to starvation, the imperial army stood "motionless through fear", as Prince Akbar complained. Holding Prince Akbar responsible for this discomfiture, the Emperor placed the command of the army at Chitor in the hands of Prince 'A'zam and sent Akbar to Mārwār.

Smarting under the disgrace of his removal, Prince Akbar dreamt of wresting the crown of Delhi from his father in alliance with the Rājputs, whose worth he must have sufficiently understood during his war with them. The Rājput chiefs pointed out to him how his father's policy was destroying the stability of the Mughul Empire, and hoping thus to "place a truly national king on the throne of Delhi they promised to back him with the armed strength of the two greatest Rājput clans, the Sisodiās and the Rāthors". With his army of about 70,000 men, "including the best blood of Rājputāna", Prince Akbar arrived near Ajmer on the 15th January, 1681. Auranzgeb's situation was then critical, as the two main divisions of his army were quartered near Chitor and the Rājsamudra lake. Had the Prince promptly utilised this "fine opportunity", the Emperor might have been caught at a disadvantage. But he whiled away his time in indolence and pleasure and thus allowed his shrewd father to make preparations to defend himself. By writing a letter to his rebellious son, which the Emperor contrived should reach the Rājputs, he led Akbar's allies to believe that the Mughul Prince was playing false with them. The stratagem of the Emperor proved successful, as the Rājput allies of Prince Akbar, suspecting treachery, deserted him and he hurriedly "rode away for dear life in the track of the Rājputs". The Rājputs, however, soon discovered the fraud played on them, and the chivalrous Rāthor chief, Durgādās, convinced of the Prince's innocence, gallantly saved him from his father's vengeance and escorted him, through Khāndesh and Baglāna, to the court of the Marātha king, Shambhūjī. But the self-indulgent successor of Shivājī could afford no effective aid to the fugitive Mughul prince, whose dream of an Indian Empire, "based on Hindu-Muslim reconciliation

and amity, remained an idle one". About six years later the disappointed Mughul prince set out for Persia, where he died in A.D. 1704.

Though Prince Akbar's rebellion could not change the ruler of Delhi, it gave great relief to the Rānā of Mewār, but his temporary success against the Mughuls caused great misery to his subjects. The sufferings of the Mughuls had also been considerable, and they could not gain any definite success against the Rājputs. These considerations led the Emperor and the Rānā, Jay Singh, son and successor of Rāj Singh, to conclude a treaty in June, 1681. The Rānā ceded a few districts in lieu of *jizya* and the Mughuls withdrew from Mewār. Mārwār, however, had to continue a "thirty years' war" before a peace was concluded on honourable terms. Under the able leadership of Durgādās, the Rāthors ceaselessly carried on a guerilla warfare and harassed the Mughul outposts so that the Mughul officers were compelled to pay *chauth* to their unrelenting foe to save themselves from his aggression. The war dragged on till, after Aurangzeb's death, his son and successor, Bahādur Shāh I, recognised Ajit Singh as the Rānā of Mārwār in A.D. 1709.

The Rājput wars of Aurangzeb produced disastrous consequences for his Empire. Thousands of lives were sacrificed and enormous sums were wasted on the desert land without any lasting success to the Emperor. "Damaging as this result was to imperial prestige, its material consequences were worse still." It was an act of political unwisdom on the part of Aurangzeb to provoke Rājput hostility and thus forfeit the devoted service of gallant chiefs and soldiers, so long friends of the Empire, in his wasting wars in the Deccan, or in the important work of holding under control the north-western frontier, where the restless Afghān tribes were still far from being pacified.

8. Aurangzeb and the Deccan

During the first half of Aurangzeb's reign his attention was engrossed with affairs in the north, and the Deccan was left to the viceroys. The decadent southern Sultānates had not been able to recover fully from the blows that had been inflicted on them, and the Marāthas rose at their expense. The rise of the Marāthas, as a sort of challenge to the Mughul Empire, complicated the political situation in the Deccan, the full significance of which the Emperor could not realise at first. During the first twenty-four years of his reign his viceroys in the Deccan could

achieve no definite success either against the Sultānates or against the Marāthas.

The death of Shivājī in 1680 in no way improved the imperial position in the Deccan, notwithstanding Aurangzeb's determination to consolidate his supremacy. The flight of the rebellious Prince Akbar to the Marātha king, Shambhūjī, and the alliance between the "disturber of India" and the "infernal son of the infernal father", as Aurangzeb called these two, brought a complete change in his policy towards the Deccan. Having now realised the necessity of marching there in person to check this menace to imperial interests, he patched up a peace with Mewār in June, 1681. Leaving Ajmer for the Deccan on the 8th September, 1681, he arrived at Burhānpur on 23rd November, 1681, and at Ahmadnagar on the 1st April, 1682. His mind must have been full of high hopes, and he could not foresee that destiny was dragging him to the south to dig the graves of himself and his Empire. The first four years were spent in unsuccessful attempts to seize Prince Akbar and in rather disastrous campaigns against the Marāthas. Some of the forts of the latter were conquered by the imperialists, but the sturdy folk whom Shivājī had inspired with new aspirations could not be thoroughly suppressed.

The conquest of the decayed Sultānates next engaged the Emperor's attention. As in the case of Shāh Jahān, Aurangzeb's attitude towards the Shiah Sultānates of the Deccan was influenced partly by imperial interests and partly by religious considerations. Bijāpur, weakened by party factions and the rise of the Marāthas, submitted to the invaders. The last Mughul siege of the city began on the 11th April, 1685, and the Emperor himself went there in July, 1686. The besieged garrison held out gallantly. but, exhausted by lack of provisions and the death of countless men and horses, caused by the outbreak of a famine, they capitulated in September, 1686. Sikandar, the last of the 'Ādil Shāhīs, surrendered to the Emperor and the dynasty founded by Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh ceased to exist. On entering Bijāpur the Emperor destroyed all the fine paintings and frescoes in Sikandar's palace. Bijāpur not only lost its independence, but was turned into a desolate city. "A few years later," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "Bhīmsen noticed how the city and its equally large suburb Nauraspur looked deserted and ruined; the population was scattered, and even the abundant water-supply in the city wells had suddenly grown scanty."

Next came the turn of the Qutb Shāhī kingdom of Golkundā. Early in February, 1687, Aurangzeb himself appeared before

Golkundā and the Mughul troops besieged the local fortress within a few days. But the citadel was well stocked with food and ammunition, which enabled the besieged to hold out bravely for about eight months. In spite of using every possible means—mines, bombardments and escalades—the besiegers could achieve no definite success but were harassed by famine and pestilence and incurred heavy losses from the reprisals of their enemies. Aurangzeb, however, held on with grim tenacity and gathered fresh reinforcements. On the failure of valour and arms, Aurangzeb, following the example of Akbar before Asīrgarh, made use of "the golden key" to capture Golkundā. An Afghān soldier of fortune named 'Abdullah Pani, then employed in the service of Abul Hasan, the Sultān of Golkundā, was suborned by the Emperor and allowed the Mughuls to pour into the fort by opening its main gate. But one faithful Golkundā noble, 'Abdur Razzāq Lārī, spurned the Emperor's tempting offers of money and fought single-handed till he fell covered with seventy wounds. He was nursed back to recovery by the Mughuls and at last accepted a high rank under the Emperor. 'Abul Hasan was sent off to the fortress of Daulatābād to spend his last days on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, and Golkundā was annexed (September, 1687) to the Mughul Empire.

According to writers like Elphinstone and Smith, the annihilation of the Southern Sultānates was an impolitic step on the part of Aurangzeb. They hold that it "freed the Marātha chiefs from any fear of local rivalry", which the Mughul Emperor might have utilised to his advantage against the Marāthas. But it is doubtful if any sincere alliance between the Sultānates and their aggressor, the Mughul Emperor, was possible and also if they could check the rise of the Marāthas. As Sir J. N. Sarkar observes, "since Akbar had crossed the Vindhyas, the Deccan Sultānates could never forget that the sleepless aim of the Mughul Emperors was the final extinction and annexation of all their territories". He also points out that it would have been impossible for the decadent Sultānates to check the Marāthas effectively as they had already organised themselves into a progressive national State.

Having achieved one of the two objects of his Deccan policy, that is, the annexation of the decadent Sultānates of the Deccan, Aurangzeb turned towards the other, that is, the suppression of the renascent Marātha power. His attempts were at first crowned with success. Shambhūjī was executed on the 11th March, 1689, his capital Rāigarh was captured, and though his brother, Rājārām, escaped, the rest of his family, including his young son,

Shāhū, were made prisoners. The Emperor extended his conquest further south and levied tribute on the Hindu States of Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

Thus by the year 1690 Aurangzeb reached the zenith of his power and was the lord paramount of almost the whole of India—from Kābul to Chittagong and from Kāshmīr to the Kāverī. "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life was now opened. The Mughul Empire had become too large to be governed by one man or from one centre. . . . His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever. . . . Lawlessness reigned in many places of Northern and Central India. The old Emperor in the far-off Deccan lost all control over his officers in Hindustān, and the administration grew slack and corrupt; chiefs and zamindārs defied the local authorities and asserted themselves, filling the country with tumult. In the province of Āgra in particular, there was chronic disorder. Art and learning decayed at the withdrawal of Imperial patronage; not a single edifice, finely written manuscript, or exquisite picture, commemorates Aurangzeb's reign. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury; the government turned bankrupt, the soldiers, starving from arrears of pay, mutinied; and during the closing years of his reign the revenue of Bengal, regularly sent by the able *diwān* Murshid Qulī Khān, was the sole support of the Emperor's household or his army, and its arrival was eagerly looked forward to. Napoleon I used to say, 'It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me'. The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb." The Emperor failed to subjugate the Marāthas or conquer their land. They recovered by 1691 and carried on a war of national resistance against the Mughuls, first under Rājārām and some other able Marātha chiefs, and then, after Rājārām's death in 1700, under his brave widow Tārā Bāī.

9. Last Days of Aurangzeb

Thus, as years rolled on, Aurangzeb saw before his eyes failure piled upon failure and his Empire exhausted. Fear for the future of the Empire filled his mind with anguish, and made him extremely unhappy. His advice to his rebellious sons to save the Empire by partition went unheeded. Conscious of his failure and seriously apprehensive of the imminent disaster, he wrote to his son 'A'zam: "I came alone and am going alone. I have not done well to the country and the people, and of the future there is no hope." To

Kām Bakhsh he wrote: "I carry away the burden of my shortcomings. . . . Come what may, I am launching my boat." The deep pathos of these letters is bound to move every human heart and to rouse in it sympathy for the old monarch on his "lonely death-bed". Worn out in mind and body by heavy cares and hard toil, the Emperor died at Ahmadnagar in the morning of the 3rd March, 1707, "with the Muslim confession of faith on his lips". His body was carried to Daulatābād and was interred in the compound of the tomb of the famous Muslim saint Burhān-ud-dīn.

10. Aurangzeb as a Man and a Ruler

To judge the character and policy of a personality like Aurangzeb is indeed a perplexing task. Some have taken into consideration mainly his faults, and not his good qualities, which they have mostly ignored. There is no reason why he should be singled out for severe strictures for the manner in which he secured the throne. In this, he was simply following the example that had become almost traditional in the Tīmūrīd family in India. It would be unjust to throw on him the entire responsibility for the war of succession; it would have come at any rate, as none of the brothers was willing to make any compromise. It should not be forgotten that while Shāh Jahān removed all his possible rivals Aurangzeb did not put to death all his nephews. It is indeed hard to defend Aurangzeb's harsh treatment of his old father, but in justice to him it should be noted that at least he was not a parricide, of which we find numerous instances in the history of India and of other countries.

Aurangzeb's private life was simple, pious and austere. He was not a slave to his passions and scrupulously abstained from indulging in prohibited food, drink or dress. The number of his wives "fell short even of the Quranic allowance of four", which was a praiseworthy restraint for an Emperor in those days, though it was below the standard of Dārā Shukoh and Khusrav. He was an ardent student of Muslim theology, and an expert calligraphist, and tried to "educate his children in sacred lore". But it is a pity that he seldom encouraged art and letters. The only literary production which received his patronage was the *Fatāwa-i-'Ālamgīrī*, which has been regarded as "the greatest digest of Muslim law made in India". Aurangzeb was a pious Muslim, and with the zeal of a Puritan he scrupulously observed the injunctions of the Holy Quran. Once during the Balkh campaign he knelt down to finish his prayers at the proper time, though the fighting

was going on all around him. No one can deny him the credit of being sincere in his religious convictions. But this extreme puritanism made him stern and austere and dried up the springs of the tender qualities of heart. He thus "lacked sympathy, imagination, breadth of vision, elasticity in the choice of means, which atone for a hundred faults of the head".

Undaunted bravery, grim tenacity of purpose, and ceaseless activity, were some of his prominent qualities. His military campaigns give sufficient proof of his unusual courage, and the manner in which he baffled the intrigues of his enemies shows him to have been a past-master of diplomacy and state-craft. His memory was wonderful, and his industry indefatigable. He personally read all petitions and passed orders on them with his own hand. The Italian physician Gemelli-Careri, who visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb and saw him in 1695 when he was seventy-seven years old, "admired to see him endorse the petitions with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful, smiling countenance seemed to be extremely pleased with the employment".

In spite of his vitality and strength of character, Aurangzeb, as a ruler of India, proved to be a failure. He hardly realised that the greatness of an Empire depends on the progress of its people as a whole. In the intensity of his religious zeal he ignored the feelings of important sections of the people and thus roused forces hostile to his Empire. Indeed, the history of India since the days of the Mauryas clearly shows that political progress in this land is dependent on the policy of religious toleration which would seek to create harmony in the midst of various discordant elements. To build up a united India, while accentuating religious differences, is bound to remain an idle dream. Further, Aurangzeb's plodding industry and capacity for work in one sense went against him by implanting in his mind a sense of over-confidence, and excessive distrust of his officers. This led him to interfere constantly in the minutest affairs of the State. It resulted in keeping the local officers in a state of perpetual tutelage, and crushing their initiative, sense of responsibility, and efficiency, which could not but produce "administrative degeneration in an extensive and diversified empire like India". Khāfī Khān gives the following estimate of the Emperor from the point of view of an orthodox Sunnī: "Of all the sovereigns of the House of Tīmūr —nay of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one, since Sikandar Lodī, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity and justice. In courage, long-suffering and sound judgment, he was unrivalled. But from reverence of the injunction of the Law

he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object." Aurangzeb had many sterling qualities; but he was not a successful ruler; he was a great soldier but not a farseeing leader of men, a shrewd diplomat but not a sound statesman. In short, he was not a political genius, such as Akbar alone among the Mughuls had been, who could initiate a policy and enact laws to mould the life and thought of his contemporaries or of future generations. Largely owing to the Emperor's lack of political foresight, the symptoms of the disintegration of the Mughul Empire appeared before he left this world. His weak successors only hastened the process of decay. The reign of the puritan Emperor was a great tragedy.

11. The Marāthas and the Mughuls in the Seventeenth Century

A. Rise of the Marāthas

The rise of the Marātha power introduced an important factor in Indian politics during the second half of the seventeenth century, as that of Vijayanagar had done in a previous age. The Marāthas had brilliant traditions of political and cultural activities in the early Middle Ages of Indian history, when they upheld the national cause under the Yādavas of Devagiri. They lost their independence with the fall of the Yādava Rāmchandradeva in the time of 'Ālā-ud-dīn, but in forty years they began again to play an important part in the Bahmanī kingdom and subsequently in the succeeding Sultānates. The seventeenth century saw them organised into a national State. There is no doubt that Shivājī was the hero of this Marātha national unity, but it has to be noted that the ground was prepared for his glorious achievements by several other factors.

Firstly, the geography of Mahārāshtra exercised a profound influence in moulding the character and history of its people. Enclosed on two sides by mountain ranges like the Sahyadrī running from north to south, and the Sātpura and the Vindhya running from east to west, protected by the Narmadā and the Tāptī rivers and provided with numerous easily defensible hill-forts, the Marātha country "could not be annexed or conquered by one cavalry dash or even one year's campaigning". The

rugged and unproductive soil of the land, its precarious and scanty rainfall, and its meagre agricultural resources, kept the Marāthas immune from the vices of luxury and idleness and helped them to develop the virtues of " self-reliance, courage, perseverance, a stern simplicity, a rough straight-forwardness, a sense of social equality, and consequently pride in the dignity of man as man". Secondly, the Marāthī religious reformers, Ekanāth, Tukārām, Rāmdās and Vāman Pandit, preaching, through successive centuries, the doctrines of devotion to God and of equality of all men before Him, without any distinction of caste or position, and the dignity of action, had sown in their land the seeds of a renaissance or self-awakening which is generally the presage of a political revolution in a country. Rāmdās Samarth, Guru of Shivājī, exerted a profound influence on the minds of his countrymen and inspired them with ideals of social reform and national regeneration through his disciples in *maths* (monasteries) and his famous work known as *Dasabodha*. Thirdly, literature and language supplied another bond of union among the sons of Mahārāshtra. The devotional songs of religious reformers were composed in the Marāthī language, and consequently a forceful Marāthī literature grew up during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to inspire the people of the land with noble aspirations. "Thus," observes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "a remarkable community of language, creed and life was attained in Mahārāshtra in the seventeenth century even before political unity was conferred by Shivājī. What little was wanting to the solidarity of the people was supplied by his creation of a national State, the long struggle with the invader from Delhi under his sons, and the imperial expansion of the race under the Peshwās."

The Marāthas had also acquired some previous experience of political and military administration through their employment in the Sultānates of the Deccan. Shāhjī, father of the famous Shivājī, began his career as a trooper in the army of the Sultān of Ahmadnagar. He gradually rose to distinction, acquired vast territorial possessions in that State, and played the kingmaker during the last years of the Nizām Shāhī rule. But his success excited the jealousy of others, and after the annexation of Ahmadnagar by Shāh Jahān, he entered the service of the Bijāpur State in 1636. Here also he earned considerable fame and received an extensive fief in the Karnātak, besides his old *jāgīr* of Poona, which he had held as a servant of the Ahmadnagar State.

B. Shivājī's Career

Shivājī was born in the hill-fort of Shivner near Junnar in 1630, as the writers of one school hold, or in 1627, as some modern historians say.[1] Shāhjī removed to his new *jāgīr* with his second wife, leaving Shivājī and his mother Jijā Bāī under the guardianship of an able Brāhmaṇa, Dādāji Khonddev. Neglected by her husband, Jijā Bāī, a lady of virtuous temperament and extraordinary intellect, infused into her child's mind high and inspiring ideas by reciting stories of heroism, spirituality and chivalry in past ages, and stimulated his zeal in defence of religion. "If ever great men owed their greatness to the inspiration of mothers", wrote Ranade, "the influence of Jijā Bāī was a factor of prime importance in the making of Shivājī's career." The influence of Dādāji Khonddev also combined to make him bold and enterprising. We do not know if Shivājī received any formal literary education, but he grew up as a brave and adventurous soldier, "inspired by a real desire to free his country from what he considered to be a foreign tyranny, and not by a mere love of plunder". His early intimacy with the hillmen of the Māval country, ninety miles in length and about twelve to fourteen miles in breadth along the Western Ghāts, was of immense value to him in his subsequent years, as the Māvalīs turned out to be "his best soldiers, his earliest comrades, and his most devoted commanders". Through his mother, he was descended from the Yādava rulers of Devagiri, and on his father's side he claimed descent from the brave Sisodiās of Mewār. Thus the sentiment of glorious heredity, and the influence of early training and environment, combined to rouse in the young Marātha soldier aspirations for founding an independent kingdom. He chose for himself a "career of independence", which, though full of risk, "had undreamt-of advantages to compensate for the risk, if only he could succeed".

The growing weakness of the Deccan Sultānates, and the prolonged campaigns of the imperialists in the north, greatly favoured the rise of the Marātha power. In 1646 Shivājī captured the fortress of Torna, five miles east of which he soon built the fort of Rājgarh. After the death of Dādāji Khonddev (1647), who probably did not approve of these risky enterprises, Shivājī acquired many forts from their hereditary owners, or the local officers of Bijāpur, by

[1] Sarkar's *Shivājī*, p. 25; *J.I.H.*, 1927, pp. 177–97. Mr. Dasaratha Sharma has brought to light (*J.B.O.R.S.*, June, 1934) a contemporary record of Shivājī's birth (that is, a horoscope of Shivājī preserved in the Bikāner Fort Library), according to which Shivājī was born in *Samvat* 1686.

force, bribery or trickery, and also built new ones. He thus came to possess a considerable estate, protected by a long chain of hill-forts. He had to suspend offensive operations against Bijāpur for a few years (1649–1655) as his father was put under arrest by the Bijāpur Government and was released on condition of his son's good behaviour. But he utilised this time in consolidating his conquests, and in January, 1656, annexed the small Marātha principality of Jāvlī, by having its semi-independent Marātha prince, Chandra Rāo More, done to death by one of his agents. The extent and revenue of Shivājī's heritage were by this time more than doubled. He came into conflict with the Mughuls for the first time in 1657, when, taking advantage of Aurangzeb and his troops being engaged in the invasion of Bijāpur, he raided the Mughul districts of Ahmadnagar and Junnar and even looted the city of Junnar. Aurangzeb promptly reinforced his officers in that part and Shivājī was defeated. When 'Ādil Shāh concluded peace with Aurangzeb, Shivājī also submitted to him. Aurangzeb never trusted Shivājī, but he patched up the peace as his presence in the north became necessary owing to his father's illness. Shivājī next turned his attention to the North Konkān, captured Kalyān, Bhiwāndī and Māhulī, and proceeded as far south as Māhad.

Temporarily relieved from internal strife and immediate Mughul invasion, the Sultān of Bijāpur decided to destroy the power of Shivājī once for all, and sent a large force against him, early in A.D. 1659, under Afzal Khān, one of the foremost nobles and generals of the kingdom, "to bring back the rebel (Shivājī) dead or alive". Afzal Khān reached Wai, twenty miles north of Sātārā, within a fortnight. Failing to bring Shivājī out of his stronghold of Pratāpgarh, the Bijāpur general opened negotiations with him through a Marātha Brāhmaṇa, named Kṛishṇajī Bhāskar, and invited him to a conference. Shivājī received the envoy with respect, and appealed to him in the name of religion to disclose the real intention of Afzal Khān. Moved by this, Kṛishṇajī Bhāskar hinted that the Bijāpur general had mischief in his mind, which was confirmed by what Shivājī learnt from Gopināth, his own envoy to Afzal. This put Shivājī on the alert, and he proceeded to meet his adversary in a conference, apparently unarmed but with concealed weapons and clad in armour, with a view to meeting craft with craft if necessary. It has been unanimously alleged by the Marāthas that, as the two embraced each other, the strong and stalwart Muslim general held the short and slim Marātha chief's neck in his left arm with "an iron grip" and with his right hand tried to thrust a dagger into the body of Shivājī, whose hidden armour,

however, saved him from harm. Shivājī immediately killed Afzal by rending his body with his *bāghnakh* or gloves with steel claws. With the help of his troops, who were lying in ambush, he defeated the leaderless Bijāpur troops and plundered their camp. Khāfī Khan and Duff charge Shivājī with having treacherously murdered Afzal Khān, who, in their opinion, did not first try to strike Shivājī. But Marātha writers have justified Shivājī's treatment of Afzal as an act of self-defence against the attack of the Bijāpur general. The contemporary factory records accord with the statement of the Marātha chroniclers.

Shivājī next entered the South Konkan and the Kolhāpur district. But in July, 1660, he was invested in the Panhālā fort by a Bijāpur force under Sīdī Jauhar and was forced to evacuate it. He was soon confronted with a new danger. Shāista Khān, the new Mughul governor of the Deccan, commissioned by Aurangzeb to suppress the Marātha chief's activities, occupied Poona, captured the fort of Chākan and drove away the Marāthas from the Kalyān district. But Shivājī soon patched up a truce with the Bijāpur State, through the intervention of his father, who still held a position of importance there. Thus he became free to turn his whole attention to the Mughuls. After about two years' desultory fighting, he secretly entered into Shāista Khān's apartments in Poona with some attendants on the 15th April, 1663, "surprised and wounded the Mughul viceroy of the Deccan in the heart of his camp, in his very bed-chamber, within the inner ring of his body-guards and female slaves", slew his son, Abul Fath, one captain, forty attendants and six women of his harem, and then went safely away to the neighbouring stronghold of Singhagarh. The Mughul viceroy lost his thumb and barely escaped with his life. This daring exploit immensely increased the prestige of Shivājī, who soon performed another feat, not less adventurous than the one described above. During the period 16th—20th January, 1664, he attacked and sacked Surāt, the richest seaport on the west, without hindrance, as the governor of the place had taken to his heels instead of opposing him. The Marātha chief decamped with rich plunder exceeding ten million rupees in value. Only the local English and Dutch factories successfully resisted him and escaped being plundered.

Indignant at these repeated reverses, which greatly affected Mughul prestige and influence in the Deccan, Aurangzeb sent, early in 1665, Jay Singh, Rājā of Amber, and Dilīr Khān to the Deccan with an expeditionary force to punish Shivājī. Jay Singh, a tactful and brave general, who combined with varied military

experience, gained during his campaigns in different parts of the Empire, much diplomatic skill and foresight, proceeded cautiously against the clever Marātha chief. Raising a ring of enemies round Shivājī, he besieged the fort of Purandhar. The beleaguered garrison in the fort maintained a heroic resistance for some time, during which its "Prabhu" commander, Munar Bājī Deshpānde of Māhad, lost his life with 300 Māvlīs. The Mughuls also blockaded Rājgarh, the seat of Shivājī's government. Considering the cost of further resistance, Shivājī concluded the treaty of Purandhar with Jay Singh on the 22nd June, 1665, whereby he ceded to the Mughuls twenty-three of his forts, retaining only twelve for himself, promised to supply a contingent of 5,000 cavalry to act with the Mughul army in the Deccan, and was permitted to compensate himself for his territorial losses by collecting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī* in some districts of the Bijāpur kingdom. He soon joined the imperialists in a war against Bijāpur. But Jay Singh's Bijāpur campaign ended in failure. He, however, plied Shivājī "with high hopes", and using "a thousand devices" prevailed upon him to visit the imperial court at Āgra.

Jay Singh's object in sending Shivājī to the imperial court was to remove him from the troubled area of the Deccan, but it is very difficult to understand what led Shivājī to agree to his proposal. Mr. Sardesai writes that the consideration which led Shivājī to go to the imperial court was his desire to see with his own eyes the Emperor, his court, and the sources of his strength, with a view to preparing his plans for future operations against him properly. We know, on the other hand, that Jay Singh had to persuade him to take such a risky step by holding out promises of reward and honour and taking solemn oaths to be responsible for his safety at Āgra. To secure the consent of the Emperor to the occupation of the island of Janjīra, then held by the Sīddī, an imperial servant, might have also been an objective of the Marātha chief. With the assurance of the astrologers and concurrence of the majority of his officers, he started for Āgra with his son, Shambhūjī, and reached there on the 9th May, 1666.

But Shivājī was coldly received by Aurangzeb and ranked as a noble commanding 5,000 men, which wounded his sense of honour so much that he created a scene and swooned. On being restored to his senses, he accused the Emperor of breach of faith, whereupon he was placed under guard. Thus his "high hopes were dashed to pieces and he found himself a prisoner instead". An ordinary man would have given way to despair under such

trying circumstances, but, being gifted with extraordinary resourcefulness, he resorted to a stratagem to effect his escape. Pretending to recover from his feigned illness, he began sending out of his house every evening baskets of fruits and sweetmeats for Brāhmaṇas, mendicants and nobles, as thanksgiving offerings for his fictitious recovery. After a few days, when the guards had relaxed their vigilance and allowed the baskets to go out unchecked, Shivājī and his son concealed themselves in two empty baskets and slipped out of Āgra, eluding all the spies of the Mughul Emperor. He



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hastened with Shambhūjī to Muttrā and, leaving his fatigued son there in charge of a Marātha Brāhmaṇa, reached home, in the guise of a mendicant, on the 30th November, 1666, by following a roundabout way, via Allahābād, Benares, Gayā and Telingāna.

For three years after this, Shivājī remained at peace with the Mughuls and utilised the period in organising his internal administration. Aurangzeb granted him the title of *Rājā* and a *jāgīr* in Berar, and raised his son Shambhūjī to the rank of a noble of 5,000. But war was renewed in 1670. The position of the imperialists being weaker than before, owing to a bitter quarrel between the viceroy,

Shāh 'Ālam, and his lieutenant, Dilīr Khān, Shivājī recovered almost all the forts surrendered by him in 1665. In the month of October, 1670, he sacked Surāt for the second time and captured immense booty in cash and kind. He then carried daring raids into Mughul provinces and repeatedly defeated Mughul generals in open fight. In 1672 he demanded *chauth* from Surāt.

The tribal risings in the north-west then engaged Aurangzeb's attention more than anything else, and a part of the Mughul army was transferred from the Deccan to that region. The desultory fighting of the Mughul captains against Shivājī from 1672 to 1678 led to no success. The Marātha hero was then in the full tide of power. On the 16th June, 1674, he formally crowned himself king at Rāigarh with great pomp and splendour, and assumed the title of *Chhatrapati* (Lord of the Umbrella, or king of kings).

Besides being relieved of pressure from the Mughuls, owing to their preoccupations in the north-west, Shivājī secured the friendship of the Sultān of Golkundā, and conquered in one year (1677) Jinjī, Vellore, and the adjoining districts. These greatly enhanced his prestige and gave him the possession of a vast territory in the Madras Carnatic and the Mysore plateau, covering sixty leagues by forty, yielding him an annual revenue of 20 lacs of *huns* and containing 100 forts. His successful career came to a close with his premature death at the age of fifty-three (or fifty, according to some) on the 14th April, 1680. Shivājī's kingdom extended roughly along the entire coast from Rāmnagar (modern Dharampur State in the Surāt Agency) in the north to Kārwār in the south, excluding the Portuguese, African and English settlements of Damān, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul, Goa, Janjīra and Bombay. On the east, its boundary ran in an irregular line from Baglāna in the north, through the Nāsik and Poona districts and round the whole of Sātārā, to Kolhāpur in the south. His last conquests brought within the limits of his dominions the Western Carnatic, extending from Belgaum to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā, opposite to the Bellary district of the modern Madras Presidency, and also a large part of the present kingdom of Mysore.

C. Shivājī's Government

Shivājī was not merely a daring soldier and a successful military conqueror, but also an enlightened ruler of his people. As Mr. Rawlinson observes: "Like nearly all great warriors—Napoleon is a conspicuous example—Shivājī was also a great administrator, for the qualities which go to make a capable general are those

which are required by the successful organiser and statesman." His system, like that of the Muslim rulers of India, was an autocracy, of which he himself was the supreme head. But in the actual discharge of State business he was helped by a council of eight ministers—the *ashtapradhān*—whose functions were chiefly advisory. The eight ministers were: (i) The *Peshwā* or the Prime Minister, who had to look after the general welfare and interests of the kingdom, (ii) the *Amātya* or the Finance Minister, whose duty was to check and countersign all public accounts, (iii) the *Mantrī*, who had to preserve a daily record of the king's acts and the proceedings of his court, (iv) the *Sachiva* or the superintendent, who was in charge of the king's correspondence and had also to check the accounts of the *mahāls* and *paraganās*, (v) the *Sumant* or the Foreign Secretary, (vi) the *Senāpati* or the Commander-in-chief, (vii) the *Pandit Rāo* and *Dānādhyaksha* or the Royal Chaplain and Almoner, and (viii) the *Nyāyādhīsa* or the Chief Justice. All the ministers, excepting the *Nyāyādhīsa* and the *Pandit Rāo*, held military commands besides their civil duties, and at least three of them were placed in charge of provincial administration as well. The ministers were in charge of different departments of the State, which were no less than thirty in number. Shivājī divided his kingdom into a number of provinces, each being placed under a viceroy, who held office at the king's pleasure and was assisted like him by a staff of eight chief officers. The viceroy of the Karnātak had a position somewhat different from that of the other provincial governors, and he exercised more power and discretion.

For purposes of revenue collection and administration, Shivājī's kingdom was divided into a number of *prants* or provinces. Each *prant* was subdivided into *paraganās* and *tarfs*, and the village formed the lowest unit. Shivājī abandoned the existing practice of farming out land revenue and substituted for it direct collection from the ryots through State officials, who had "no right to exercise the powers of a political superior (overlord) or harass the ryots". The assessment was made after a careful survey of lands, for which purpose a uniform unit of measurement was introduced. The State dues were fixed at 30 per cent of the expected produce, which was after some time raised by Shivājī to 40 per cent after he had abolished other kinds of taxes or cesses. The cultivators knew definitely the amount of their dues, which they could pay without any oppression. They were given the choice of payment either in cash or in kind. The State encouraged agriculture by granting advance loans from the treasury to the ryots for the purchase of

seed and cattle, and the latter repaid these by easy annual instalments. It is wrong to say, as Fryer has done, that the State officers practised extortions and oppressions on the cultivators, though it might have been that Shivājī, with a view to making his kingdom financially sound, was strict in the matter of revenue collection. Modern researches have amply proved that the revenue administration of Shivājī was humane, efficient, and conducive to the interests of his subjects, as even Grant Duff admitted many years ago.

As the hilly regions of Mahārāshtra did not yield much in land revenue, Shivājī often levied *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī* on the neighbouring tracts, which were completely at his mercy, and also on the Mughul provinces as well as some districts of the Bijāpur kingdom. The practice of levying *chauth* had already been in vogue in western India, as we find that the Rājā of Rāmnagar exacted it from the Portuguese subjects of Damān. Scholars differ in their opinions regarding the nature of the *chauth* contribution. Ranade, who compares it with Wellesley's subsidiary system, writes that it was "not a mere military contribution without any moral or legal obligation, but a payment in lieu of protection against the invasion of a third power". Sir J. N. Sarkar expresses a different opinion when he writes: "The payment of the *chauth* merely saved a place from the unwelcome presence of the Marātha soldiers and civil underlings, but did not impose on Shivājī any corresponding obligation to guard the district from foreign invasion or internal disorder. The Marāthas looked only to their own gain and not to the fate of their prey after they had left. The *chauth* was only a means of buying off one robber; and not a subsidiary system for the maintenance of peace and order against all enemies. The lands subject to the *chauth* cannot, therefore, be rightly called spheres of influence." According to Mr. Sardesai, it was a tribute realised from hostile or conquered territories. Dr. Sen writes that the *chauth* was a contribution exacted by a military leader, which was justified by the exigencies of the situation. Whatever might be the theory of this burdensome imposition, which amounted to one-fourth of the government revenue, in practice it was nothing but a military contribution. The *sardeshmukhī* was an additional levy of 10 per cent, which Shivājī demanded on the basis of his claim as the hereditary *Sardeshmukh* (chief headman) of Mahārāshtra. But this was a legal fiction. The exaction of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī* gave to the Marāthas influence over the districts which lay beyond their jurisdiction and was followed by their easy annexation.

The organisation of the Marātha army by Shivājī on a new model is a brilliant proof of his military genius. Previously the Marātha fighting forces consisted mostly of cavalry, who had been in the habit of working half the year upon their fields, and engaged themselves during the dry season in active service. Shivājī, however, introduced a regular standing army. His soldiers had to be always ready for duty, and were provided with pay and quarters during the rainy season. The strength of this force rose from thirty to forty thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry. Shivājī built a considerable fleet, the crews for which were recruited from among the low-caste Hindus of the Bombay coast. Although the achievements of the Marātha navy under Shivājī were not very remarkable, yet in later times the Marātha fleet under the Angrias gave considerable trouble to the English, the Portuguese, and the Dutch. According to the *Sabhāsad Bakhar*, he maintained an elephant corps numbering about 1,260 and a camel corps numbering 3,000 or 1,500. We do not know definitely what was the strength of his artillery, but Orme writes that "he had previously purchased eighty pieces of cannon and lead sufficient for his matchlocks from the French Director at Surāt".

There was a regular gradation of officers both in the cavalry and the infantry. The cavalry had two branches—the *bargīs* or soldiers provided with pay and equipment by the State, and the *silāhdārs*, who equipped themselves at their own cost and supplied the pay and equipment of the soldiers whom they brought to the service of the State, but were paid a stipulated sum by the State to defray the expense of service in the field. In the cavalry, 25 troopers formed a unit; over twenty-five men was placed a *havaldār*, over five *havaldārs* one *jumlādār*, and over ten *jumlādārs* one *hāzārī*, who received 1,000 *huns* a year. Higher ranks over *hāzārīs* were *pānjhāzārīs* and the *sarnobat* or supreme commander of the cavalry. In the infantry, nine privates (*pāiks*) formed the lowest unit under a *nāik*. Over five *nāiks* there was one *havaldār*, over two or three *havaldārs* one *jumlādār*, and over ten *jumlādārs* one *hāzārī*. Instead of five *hāzārīs* as in the cavalry, there were seven *hāzārīs* in the infantry under the command of the *sarnobat* of the infantry. Although Shivājī in most cases led the army in person, it was formally under a *senāpati*, or commander-in-chief, who was a member of the council of ministers. Since forts played an important part in the history of the Marāthas, ample precaution was taken to maintain the garrisons there in an efficient condition. Every fort was under three officers of equal status, viz. the *havaldār*, the *sabnis*, and the *sarnobat*, who were to act together and thus to serve

as a check on one another. Further, to prevent treachery on the part of the fort-officers, Shivājī arranged "that in each garrison there should be a mixture of castes".

Though regular and generous in making payments and giving rewards to the soldiers, Shīvājī did not forget to enforce strict discipline on them. He drew up a set of regulations for their conduct so that their morals might not be lowered. The more important of these regulations laid down: "No woman, female slave, or dancing girl, was to be allowed to accompany the army.[1] A soldier keeping any of these was to be beheaded. Cows were exempt from seizure, but bullocks might be taken for transport only. Brāhmaṇas were not to be molested, nor taken as hostages for ransom. No soldier should misconduct himself (during a campaign)." As regards spoils of war, Shivājī ordered that "whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, *pulsiyah* (copper money), and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them; but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs or jewels, were not to belong to the finder but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers and to be by them paid over to Shivājī's government".

D. An Estimate of Shivājī

Both as a ruler and a man, Shivājī occupies a distinguished place in the history of India. A born leader of men, who could throw a spell over all who came in contact with him, he elevated himself, by dint of his unusual bravery and diplomacy, from the position of a *jāgīrdār* to that of a *Chhatrapati* and became an irresistible enemy of the mighty Mughul Empire, then at the zenith of its power. The most brilliant of his achievements was the welding together of the Marātha race, "scattered like atoms through many Deccani Kingdoms", into a mighty nation in "the teeth of opposition of four great powers like the Mughul empire, Bijāpur, Portuguese India, and the Abyssinians of Janjīra". He left an extensive kingdom at his death. "The territories and the treasures, however, which Shivājī acquired, were not so formidable to the Mughuls," writes Grant Duff, "as the example he had set, the system and habits he had introduced, and the spirit he had infused into a large proportion of the Marātha people." The Marātha nation that he built up defied the Mughul Empire during

[1] We may contrast with this the influence of the harem that accompanied the Mughul army.

and after Aurangzeb's reign, and remained the dominant power in India during the eighteenth century, so that a descendant of Aurangzeb became the virtual puppet of a Marātha chief, Mahādājī Sindhia. The Marātha power also competed with the English for supremacy in India till it was finally crushed in the time of Lord Hastings.

It would be unjust to describe Shivājī as "an entrepreneur of rapine or a Hindu edition of 'Alāuddīn or Tamarlene", as Khāfī Khān and even some modern writers have done. A great constructive genius, he possessed all the essential qualities needed for the national regeneration of a country. "His system was his own creation and, unlike Ranjit Singh, he took no foreign aid in his administration. His army was drilled and commanded by his own people and not by Frenchmen. What he built lasted long; his institutions were looked up to with admiration and emulation, even a century later in the palmy days of the Peshwās' rule." He was not a relentless conqueror indulging in unnecessary cruelty and plunder for the sake of plunder. His chivalrous conduct during his campaigns towards women and children, including those of the Muslims, has been eulogised even by Khāfī Khān, a hostile critic: "Shivājī had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories . . . and was careful to maintain the honour of women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and anyone who disobeyed them received punishment." Rawlinson rightly observes: "He was never deliberately or wantonly cruel. To respect women, mosques, and non-combatants, to stop promiscuous slaughter after a battle, to release and dismiss with honour captured officers and men—these are, surely, no light virtues." Shivājī's ideal was the restoration of an indigenous Empire in his country, and he pursued it with singleness of purpose. But he had no time to work it out in full.

In his private life, Shivājī remained immune from the prevalent vices of the time, and his moral virtues were exceptionally high. Sincerely religious from his early life, he did not forget the lofty ideals with which he had been inspired by his mother and his *guru* Rāmdās, in the midst of political or military duties. He sought to make religion a vital force in the uplifting of the Marātha nation and always extended his patronage to Hindu religion and learning. "Religion remained with him", remarks a modern Marāthi writer, "an ever-fresh fountain of right conduct and generosity; it did not obsess his mind or harden him into a bigot." Tolerant of other faiths, he deeply venerated Muslim saints and granted rent-free

lands to meet the expenses of illumination of Muslim shrines and mosques, and his conduct towards the Capuchin fathers (Christian monks) of Surāt, during its first sack by him, was respectful. Even his bitterest critic, Khāfī Khān, writes: "But he (Shivājī) made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Quran came into his hands he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Mussalmān followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty."

E. Shambhūjī and his Successors

Shivājī was succeeded by his eldest son, Shambhūjī, who, though pleasure-loving, was brave. His chief adviser was a Brāhmaṇa from Northern India named Kavi-Kulash, whose morals were not above reproach. Under the new king the Marātha power weakened but did not become entirely inert. Shambhūjī himself realised the nature of the Mughul menace, and fought the mighty force which Aurangzeb had brought to the Deccan with courage and resolution till he was surprised and captured (11th February, 1689), at Sangameshwar, twenty-two miles from Ratnagiri, by an energetic Mughul officer named Muqarrab Khān. His minister, Kavi-Kulash, and twenty-five of his chief followers, were also captured with him. The two chief captives were brought to the imperial camp at Bahādurgarh and were publicly paraded. After being tortured in various ways for more than three weeks, the captives were put to death on the 11th March, 1689. The imperialists quickly captured many of the Marātha forts, and even besieged the Marātha capital at Rāigarh. But Rājārām, younger brother of Shambhūjī, slipped out of the city, disguised as a mendicant, and after various adventures reached Jinjī in the Karnātak. The capital city had in the meanwhile capitulated, and Shambhūjī's family, including his infant son, Shāhū, had been captured by the Mughuls. Thus the Marātha power seemed to be completely overthrown.

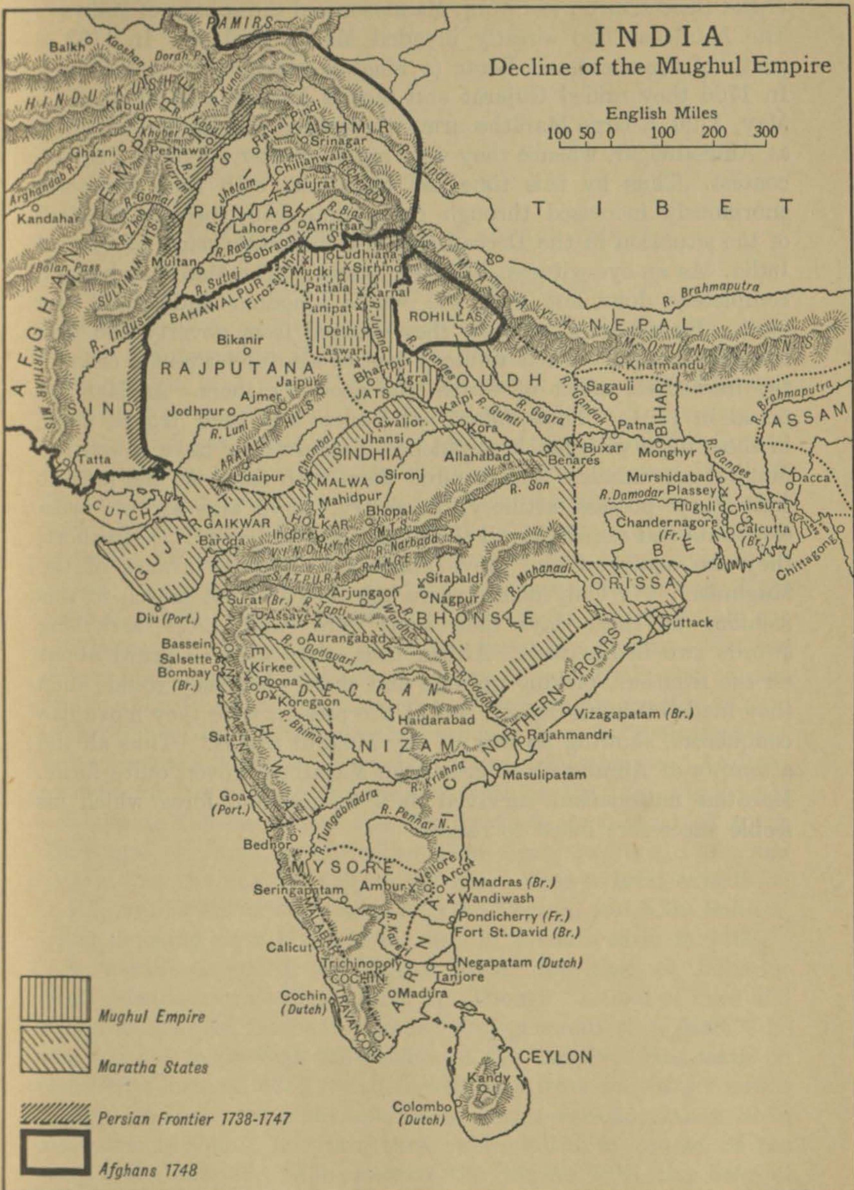
But the spirit with which Shivājī had inspired his people could not die out so easily. The Marāthas recovered quickly and again began a war of national resistance to the Mughuls, which ultimately exhausted the resources of the latter. In Mahārāshtra the Marātha recovery was effected by leaders like Rāmchandra Pant, Shankaraji Malhar, and Parashurām Trimbak. Parashurām became *Pratinidhi*

or regent in 1701. In the eastern Carnatic affairs were ably managed by Pralhād Nirājī, the first *Pratinidhi.* The Marātha captains now fought and raided in different quarters on their own account. Aurangzeb was, in fact, confronted by "a people's war" and he "could not end it, because there was no Marātha government or state-army for him to attack and destroy". Two able and active Marātha generals, Santājī Ghorpade and Dhanājī Jādava, swept on from one area to another, caused great loss and confusion to the Mughuls, and carried their daring raids, according to the Marātha chronicles, even to the Emperor's camp. Many officers of the Mughul Deccan purchased safety by paying *chauth* to the Marāthas, and some of them even joined the enemy in plundering the Emperor's people. As Sir J. N. Sarkar observes, "the Mughul administration had really dissolved, and only the presence of the Emperor with all his troops in the country held it together, but it was now a delusive phantom. Santā and Dhanā were the heroes of this period; the initiative lay entirely with them, and they upset every plan and calculation formed by the imperialists".

Jinjī, having stood a siege of about eight years, was captured by Zu'lfiqār Khān in January, 1698. But Rājārām had escaped to Sātārā, where he gathered a powerful army and resumed the struggle in the northern Deccan, where Aurangzeb had assembled his forces. The imperialists besieged the fort of Sātārā in December, 1699, but the garrison defended it heroically till, after the death of Rājārām on the 12th March, 1700, it was surrendered on certain terms by his minister, Parashurām. The Emperor now seized fort after fort of the Marāthas in person, but what they lost one day was regained by them the next day and the war was protracted interminably.

After the death of Rājārām, his widow, Tārā Bāī, a lady of masterly spirit, guided the destiny of the Marātha nation at this juncture as regent for her minor son, Shivājī III. She was, as even the hostile critic Khāfī Khān admitted, "a clever, intelligent woman, and had obtained reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters". Having organised the administration of the State and suppressed the quarrels of the rival parties[1] for succession to the throne, she, as Khāfī Khān tells us, "took vigorous measures for ravaging the imperial territory and sent armies to plunder the six subahs

[1] The party of Tārā Bāī and her son; that of Rajas Bāī, another wife of Rājārām and mother of Shambhūjī II; and that which supported the cause of Shāhū, son of Shambhūjī I.


INDIA
Decline of the Mughul Empire
English Miles
100 50 0 100 200 300
TIBET
PAMIRS
Balkh
HINDU KUSH
Kabul
Khyber P.
Ghazni
Peshawar
Kandahar
Bolan Pass
SULAIMAN MTS.
AFGHAN
KIRTHAR MTS.
SIND
Tatta
CUTCH
KASHMIR
Srinagar
Rawal Pindi
Chillianwala
Gujrat
PUNJAB
Lahore
Amritsar
Multan
Sobraon
Ludhiana
Mudki
Sirhind
Firozshah
Patiala
Karnal
Panipat
Delhi
Laswari
BAHAWALPUR
ROHILLAS
NEPAL
Khatmandu
Sagauli
RAJPUTANA
Bikanir
Jaipur
Ajmer
Jodhpur
ARAVALLI HILLS
Udaipur
Bhartpur
Agra
JATS
OUDH
Gwalior
Jhansi
Kalpi
Kora
SINDHIA
Allahabad
Benares
Buxar
Patna
BIHAR
Monghyr
ASSAM
Dacca
Murshidabad
Plassey
Hughli
Chinsura
Chandernagore (Fr.)
Calcutta (Br.)
BENGAL
Chittagong
MALWA
Sironj
Mahidpur
Bhopal
HOLKAR
Indore
GAIKWAR
Baroda
GUJARAT
Diu (Port.)
VINDHYA RANGE
SATPURA
Arjungaon
Sitabaldi
Nagpur
BHONSLE
ORISSA
Cuttack
Surat (Br.)
Assaye
Aurangabad
Bassein
Salsette
Bombay (Br.)
Kirkee
Poona
Koregaon
DECCAN
Haidarabad
NORTHERN CIRCARS
Vizagapatam (Br.)
Rajahmandri
Satara
NIZAM
Masulipatam
Goa (Port.)
Bednor
MYSORE
Seringapatam
Ambur
Vellore
Arcot
Madras (Br.)
Wandiwash
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Fort St. David (Br.)
CARNATIC
Calicut
MALABAR
Trichinopoly
Negapatam (Dutch)
Tanjore
COCHIN
Cochin (Dutch)
Madura
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
Kandy
Colombo (Dutch)
R. Indus
R. Brahmaputra
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
R. Gogra
R. Gumti
R. Gandak
R. Son
R. Damodar
R. Chambal
R. Narbada
R. Tapti
R. Mahanadi
R. Godavari
R. Bhima
R. Krishna
R. Tungabhadra
R. Pennar N.
R. Kaveri
R. Sutlej
R. Ravi
R. Jhelam
R. Chenab
R. Bias
R. Luni
Mughul Empire
Maratha States
Persian Frontier 1738-1747
Afghans 1748

of the Deccan as far as Sironj, Mandasor and the subahs of Mālwa". The Marāthas had already invaded Mālwa in 1699. In 1703 a party of them entered Berar (a Mughul province for a century). In 1706 they raided Gujarāt and sacked Barodā, and in April or May, 1706, a large Marātha army threatened the Emperor's camp at Ahmadnagar, whence they were repulsed after a long and severe contest. Thus by this time the Marāthas, with their resources enormously increased through raids, practically became masters of the situation in the Deccan and also in certain parts of Central India. As an eye-witness, Bhīmsen, wrote: "The Marāthas became completely dominant over the whole kingdom and closed the roads. By means of robbery they escaped from poverty and rose to great wealth." Their military tactics also underwent a change, the immediate effect of which was good for them. As Manucci noted in 1704: "These (Marātha) leaders and their troops move in these days with much confidence, because they have cowed the Mughul commanders and inspired them with fear. At the present time they possess artillery, musketry, bows and arrows, with elephants and camels for all their baggage and tents. . . . In short, they are equipped and move about just like the armies of the Mughuls. . . . Only a few years ago they did not march in this fashion. In those days their arms were only lances and long swords two inches wide. Armed thus, they used to prowl about on the frontiers, picking up here and there what they could; then they made off home again. But at the present time they move like conquerors, showing no fear of any Mughul troops." Thus all the attempts of Aurangzeb to crush the Marāthas proved quite futile. Marātha nationalism survived as a triumphant force which his feeble successors failed to resist.

CHAPTER V

DISINTEGRATION OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

1. The Later Mughul Emperors

THE death of Aurangzeb on the 3rd March, 1707, was the signal for the disintegration of the mighty Mughul Empire. Aurangzeb's apprehension that a civil war would break out among his sons after him, to prevent which, it is said, he left a will directing his three surviving sons, Mu'azzam, Muhammad 'A'zam and Muhammad Kām Bakhsh, to partition the Empire peacefully, was justified. No sooner had he breathed his last than his three sons entered into bitter fratricidal quarrels for the possession of the throne of Delhi. Of the three brothers, Mu'azzam was then governor of Kābul, 'A'zam of Gujarāt, and the youngest, Muhammad Kām Bakhsh, of Bijāpur. Kām Bakhsh, though he assumed "all the attributes of sovereignty", could not leave the Deccan. But the eldest, Mu'azzam, hurried towards Āgra from Kābul; and 'A'zam also marched towards the same city. Mu'azzam proposed to 'A'zam a partition of the Empire on the lines laid down by their deceased father, but the latter did not accept these suggestions and resolved to fight for his right to the throne. Nothing but the sword could now decide the issue, and the two brothers soon resorted to it. They met at Jājau, a few miles from Āgra, in June 1707, and 'A'zam lost the day as well as his life. After a brief expedition to Rājputāna, Mu'azzam marched to the Deccan, and Kām Bakhsh, being defeated near Hyderābād, died of wounds early in 1708.

Mu'azzam ascended the throne under the title of Bahādur Shāh (also known as Shāh 'Ālam I). Though "a man of mild and equitable temper, learned, dignified and generous to a fault", he was too old to prevent the decline of the Empire. His death on the 27th February, 1712, was followed by a fresh war of succession among his four sons, Jahāndār Shāh, 'Azīm-us-Shān, Jahān Shāh and Rafī-us-Shān. The last three were killed in course of the war, and Jahāndār Shāh secured the throne with the help of Zu'lfiqār Khān, who became the chief minister of the State. Jahāndār was completely under the influence of a favourite lady

named Lāl Kumārī. "In the brief reign of Jahāndār", observes Khāfī Khān, "violence had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors." He was not, however, destined to enjoy power for a long time, but was deposed and strangled in the fort of Delhi under the order of 'Azīm-us-Shān's son, Farrukhsiyar, who proclaimed himself Emperor in A.D. 1713. The king-maker, Zu'lfiqār Khān, was also executed.

Farrukhsiyar owed his elevation to the throne to the two Sayyid brothers, Husain 'Ālī, deputy governor of Patna, and 'Abdullah, governor of Allahābād, who henceforth began to exercise the real power in the State and placed one prince after another on the throne. 'Abdullah became the *Wazīr* and Husain 'Ālī the commander-in-chief of the army; but as the former was a soldier and had no previous experience of civil administration, the full burden of administration fell on the latter. Farrukhsiyar was "feeble, cowardly and contemptible" and "strong neither for evil nor for good", and his attempt to assert his own power made his reign "throughout an agitated and perplexing one, ending in another Imperial tragedy". Under the influence of some of his anti-Sayyid friends, chiefly Mīr Jumla, he acted ungratefully, from the beginning of his reign, towards his Sayyid ministers. Their resentment was so great that they deposed and blinded the Emperor and executed him in an ignominious manner. The treatment that Farrukhsiyar received from the Sayyids was in no way more harsh than what he had himself meted out to his possible rivals. His worthlessness, intrigues, and ingratitude made his removal almost necessary for his ministers. But for men of position like them "the way of doing what had become almost a necessity was unduly harsh, too utterly regardless of the personal dignity of the fallen monarch. Blinding a deposed king was the fixed usage; for that the Sayyids are not specially to blame. But the severity of the subsequent confinement was excessive, and the taking of the captive's life was an extremity entirely uncalled-for".

The king-makers, 'Abdullah and Husain 'Ālī, now raised to the throne two phantom kings, Rafī-ud-Darajāt and Rafī-ud-daulah, sons of Rafī-us-Shān. But within a few months the Sayyids, who determined to "rule through the Imperial puppets", thought that they had discovered another *roi fainéant* in a youth of eighteen, named Rohsan Akhtar, son of Jahān Shāh (the fourth son of Bahādur Shāh), who ascended the throne as Muhammad Shāh. The new Emperor did not prove to be a docile agent of the Sayyids, as they had expected, and found many supporters among

those who had become enemies of the ministers during the seven years of their power. The ablest of the new allies of the sovereign was the famous Nizām-ul-mulk of the Deccan. Husain 'Ālī was removed by assassination while he was proceeding towards Mālwa to chastise the Nizām. 'Abdullah made an attempt to retain his power by placing on the throne a more convenient puppet, Muhammad Ibrāhīm, another son of Rafī-us-Shān, but he was defeated and imprisoned in 1720 and killed by poison in 1722. The new *wazīr*, Muhammad Amīn Khān, expired in 1721, and the Nizām-ul-mulk was called upon to accept that post in February, 1722. As he was essentially a man of action, the atmosphere of the imperial court did not suit his temperament. He soon left it for the Deccan, where he established a virtually independent kingdom, though the fiction of imperial supremacy was maintained till the last. The fall of the Sayyids, and the departure of the Nizām-ul-mulk for the Deccan, did not, however, serve to increase the power and prestige of Muhammad Shāh. As Ghulām Husain, the author of *Siyar*, writes: "Young and handsome, and fond of all kinds of pleasures, he addicted himself to an inactive life, which entirely enervated the energy of the Emperor". Though destiny granted him a long reign, yet "in utter unconcern he let the affairs drift in their own way, and the consequence was most fatal". Province after province—the Deccan, Oudh and Bengal—slipped out of imperial control; the Marāthas established their power far and wide; the Jāts became independent near Āgra; the Ruhelā Afghāns founded the State of Rohilkhand (Ruhelkhand) in the North Gangetic plain; the Sikhs became active in the Punjab; and the invasion of Nādir Shāh dealt a staggering blow to the Delhi Empire. Thus within about three decades of Aurangzeb's death, the vast Empire of the Mughuls ceased to exist as an all-India political unit and was split up into numerous independent or semi-independent states.

The next Emperor, Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, was unable to cope successfully with the disintegrating forces that had grown so alarming on all sides. The Empire rapidly shrank in extent, being reduced only to a small district round Delhi. The Emperor was deposed and blinded in 1754 by the *wazīr* Ghāzī-ud-dīn Imād-ul-mulk, a grandson of the deceased Nizām-ul-mulk of the Deccan, who now imitated the Sayyid brothers in playing the king-maker. He placed on the throne 'Azīz-ud-dīn (son of Jahāndār Shāh), who had been so long in confinement, and who now adopted the same title as the great Aurangzeb, and called himself 'Ālamgīr II. But the new ruler

"found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne as he was formerly in his confinement". His attempt to free himself from the control of the all-powerful *wazīr* only resulted in his ruin, as he was put to death by the latter's orders. The malignant hostility of this ambitious and unscrupulous *wazīr* compelled Shāh 'Ālam II, the son and successor of 'Ālamgīr II, to move as a wanderer from place to place. Passing through many vicissitudes of fortune, this unlucky sovereign had to throw himself ultimately on the protection of the English and live as their pensioner till his death in A.D. 1806. Shāh 'Ālam II's son, Akbar II, lived in Delhi with the title of Emperor till 1837. The Imperial dynasty became extinct with Bahādur Shāh II, who was deported to Rangoon by the English on suspicion of assisting the Sepoy mutineers. He died there in A.D. 1862.

2. Changed Character of the Later Mughul Nobility, and Party Factions

The deterioration in the character of the nobility during the eighteenth century had a large share in hastening the decline of the Mughul Empire. The nobles of the time ceased to discharge the useful functions which some of them had done in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To the great misfortune of the country, they became eager only for self-aggrandisement and personal ascendancy, to achieve which they plunged the land into bitter civil wars, disastrous conspiracies, and hopeless confusion and anarchy. "To the thoughtful student of Mughul history," remarks Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage. The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only and leave no worthy heirs sprung from their loins. 'Abdurrahim and Mahābat, 'Sa'dullah and Mīr Jumla, Ibrāhīm and Islām Khān Rūmī, who had made the history of India in the seventeenth century, were succeeded by no son, certainly by no grandson, even half as capable as themselves." This was partly due to the incapacity and lack of resolution on the part of the later rulers of the country, who had not the ability to select the right type of men for administration but were guided by the selfish advice of interested and depraved flatterers. Thus when the Emperor "was a sluggard or a fool, he ceased to be the master and guide of the nobility. They then naturally turned to win the controlling authority at court or in the provinces".

Broadly speaking, the nobles were ranged in two parties. Those who were children of the soil, or had been long domiciled in the

country, formed the Hindustānī or Indo-Moslem party. To this group belonged the Afghān nobles, the Sayyids of Bārha, and Khān-i-Daurān, whose ancestors came from Badakhshān. These Indian Muslims depended mostly on the help of their Hindu compatriots. The foreign nobles of diverse origin, opposed as a class to the members of the Hindustānī party, were indiscriminately called Mughuls, but they were subdivided into two groups according to the land of their origin. Those who came from Transoxiana and other parts of Central Asia, and were mostly of the Sunnī persuasion, formed the Turānī party. The most prominent members of this group were Muhammad Amīn Khān and his cousin, Chīn Qilīch Khān, better known as the Nizām-ul-mulk. The Irānī party was composed of those who hailed from the Persian territories and were Shiahs. The most important members of the Irānī party were Asad Khān and Zu'lfiqār Khān, the king-maker. These were mere factions and were not like the political parties of modern times. Their members had no common principle of action among themselves except that of self-interest and no firm party allegiance. The nature of the political struggles of the period can be well understood when we note that, during the reigns of Bahādur Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh, the Irānī party was in the ascendant under its leader Zu'lfiqār Khān. But from the beginning of Farrukhsiyar's reign the Hindustānī party maintained its authority in alliance with the Turānī group. Then the Turānīans and the Irānīans combined to oust the Hindustānīs from power.

3. Foreign Invasions

A. Invasion of Nādir Shāh

As a natural sequel to the notorious incapacity of the unworthy descendants of Bābur, Akbar and Aurangzeb, and the selfish activities of the nobility, the Mughul State grew corrupt and inefficient. It lost its prestige not only within India but also outside it. The country, famous for its riches, which excited the cupidity of external invaders from time immemorial, became exposed to the menace of a foreign invasion, as had been the case during the dismemberment of the Turko-Afghān Sultanate. This time the invader came not from Central Asia, but from Persia, which had already snatched away Qandahār from the Mughuls. The weak defence of the north-west frontier (the most vulnerable point in the Empire), since the time of Aurangzeb, offered a splendid opportunity to the Persians, when they had become free from

internal troubles by 1736, to make a daring push into the heart of Hindustān under the bold adventurer Nādir Shāh. The feeble attempts of Nāsir Khān and Zakariyā Khān, governors of Kābul and the Punjab respectively, to guard their provinces were of no avail, as their appeals to the Delhi court for help passed unheeded, owing to the machinations of the leaders of the rival parties who fought for power in the court. Their defenceless condition has been thus described by Ghulām Husain, one of the most important Indian writers of the mid-eighteenth century: "The roads and passes being neglected, everyone passed and repassed, unobserved; no intelligence was forwarded to court of what was happening; and neither Emperor nor Minister ever asked why no intelligence of that kind ever reached their ears."

Nādir Shāh, born of a humble family and originally a robber chief, was, however, schooled by hardships and privations, which gave him considerable valour and ability and a restless energy. He helped in the recovery of Persia from the hands of the Afghāns, who had wrested it from Shāh Husain Safavī in A.D. 1722, and entered the service of its restored ruler, Shāh Tahmāsp, son of the deposed king, Shāh Husain, in A.D. 1727. Through the incompetence of his master, Nādir became the *de facto* ruler of the State and eventually deposed him in 1732. On the death of Shāh Tahmāsp's infant son and successor, Nādir became the ruler of Persia in reality as well as in name.

Nādir commenced his march towards India in A.D. 1738. The alleged violation of promises by Muhammad Shāh, and the ill-treatment of his envoys by the Delhi court, served as the *casus belli* for his invasion. As the Mughuls had sadly neglected the defences of the north-west frontier, Nādir easily captured Ghaznī, Kābul and Lahore in A.D. 1739. The whole province of the Punjab was thrown into great confusion and disorder, while the pleasure-loving Emperor and the carpet-knights of his court, whose conduct during Nādir's invasion "forms a tale of disgraceful inefficiency amounting to imbecility", did nothing to oppose him. They could think of shaking off their lethargy only when the Persian army had arrived within a few miles of Delhi. The imperial troops then marched to check the advance of the Persians and encamped at Karnāl, twenty miles north of Pānīpat; but they were routed in February, A.D. 1739. The vanquished Emperor of Delhi, almost at the mercy of Nādir as his captive, hurried to sue for peace.

The victorious Nādir and the humiliated Emperor of Delhi together entered Delhi, where the former occupied Shāh Jahān's palace-

chambers by the *Diwān-i-Khās*. At first there was no disorder in the imperial city, but a rumour of Nādir's death, spread by some mischievous persons, gave rise to a tumult in which some Persian soldiers were slain. Nādir at first merely took steps to quell the disturbance, but the sight of his murdered soldiers infuriated him and, burning with feelings of revenge, he ordered a general massacre of the citizens of the doomed city of Delhi. A contemporary account tells us that the slaughter lasted from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon. "Within the doomed areas, the houses were looted, all the men killed without regard for age, and all the women dragged into slavery. The destroyers set fire to many houses, and several of their victims, both dead and wounded, Hindus and Muhammadans, were indiscriminately burnt together." The survivors, blockaded within the city, were reduced to extreme misery, for, besides plundering the market-places, Nādir caused the granaries to be sealed up, placed guards over them and sent detachments to plunder the villages. The Persian soldiers deliberately tortured the principal citizens for money, and three crores of rupees were realised by force from the helpless and starving inhabitants of the wretched city, which presented for eight weeks a dreadful scene of arson and carnage. At the earnest appeal of Muhammad Shāh, Nādir at last called off his soldiers, but peace was not restored till the invader left the city for his own country. Muhammad Shāh retained the throne, but he had to sustain irreparable losses. The ruthless conqueror carried away all his crown jewels, including the famous Koh-i-nūr diamond, the costly Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān, and the celebrated illustrated Persian manuscript on Hindu music written under the command of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh. According to the estimate of Nādir's own secretary, he exacted at Delhi fifteen crores of rupees in cash, and a vast amount in jewels, apparel, furniture and other valuable articles from the imperial store-house. He also took away with him 300 elephants, 10,000 horses, and the same number of camels. Thus the Persian invasion entailed a heavy economic drain on the resources of the decadent Delhi Empire. The trans-Indus provinces (Sind, Kābul and the western parts of the Punjab) had to be surrendered to the Persians. Further, the Mughul Empire lost the little prestige that it had still retained, and its decline now became patent to the world. In short, Nādir's invasion left it "bleeding and prostrate". Internally exhausted, it could get no time for recuperation and revival, as the invasion of 1739 set a precedent for further invasions from outside and Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India as the successor to Nādir's empire.

B. Invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī

After the assassination of Nādir in 1747, one of his officers named Ahmad Shāh, an Afghān chief of the Abdālī clan, rose to power and succeeded in establishing himself as the independent ruler of Afghānistān. He styled himself *Durr-i-Durrān*, "the pearl of the age", and his clan was henceforth known as the Durrānī. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, while accompanying Nādir to India, had seen with his own eyes "the weakness of the Empire, the imbecility of the Emperor, the inattentiveness of the ministers, the spirit of independence which had crept among the grandees". So after establishing his power at home he led several expeditions into India from A.D. 1748 till A.D. 1767.[1] These were something more than mere predatory raids. They indicated the revival of the Afghāns, outside and within India, making a fresh bid for supremacy on the ruins of the Mughul Empire. As a matter of fact, the Afghān bid for supremacy was an important factor in the history of India during a considerable part of the eighteenth century. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī must have entertained the desire of establishing political authority over at least a part of India, though there were other motives, as Elphinstone points out, which led him to undertake these expeditions. He sought to consolidate his authority at home by increasing his reputation through successful foreign adventures, and he also hoped to utilise the booty derived from his Indian campaigns in defraying the expenses of his army and in showering favours and rewards on the Afghān chiefs.

After having conquered Qandahār, Kābul, and Peshāwār, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India for the first time, in January 1748, with 12,000 veteran troops. But he was defeated at the battle of Mānpur by Ahmad Shāh, the Mughul heir-apparent, and Mīr Mannu, son of the deceased *wazīr* Qamār-ud-dīn, and was put to flight. Mīr Mannu was appointed governor of the Punjab. But before he could settle down, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded the Punjab for the second time in A.D. 1750 and conquered it after defeating him. Unsupported by the Delhi court, the Punjab governor found all resistance futile and submitted to the invader.

The Abdālī invaded India for the third time in December, 1751, when he again defeated Mīr Mannu, conquered Kāshmīr, and forced the Mughul Emperor, Ahmad Shāh, to cede to him the country as far east as Sirhind. Thus the Mughul Empire was further

[1] Some English records refer to an invasion of the Punjab by Ahmad Shāh Abdālī in A.D. 1769. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December 1934.

reduced in extent. Mīr Mannu was now left as the Abdālī's governor in Lahore. He promised to send to the victor the surplus revenue of the Punjab and not to transact important matters without final orders from him. But the Abdālī led another expedition in the time of Emperor 'Ālamgīr II (1754–1759). After the death of Mīr Mannu in November, 1753, and that of his infant son and successor in May, 1754, the province of the Punjab fell into disorder and anarchy due largely to the wilfulness and caprice of the regent-mother, Mughlānī Begam. In response to an appeal from her for help, Imād-ul-mulk, the all-powerful *wazīr* at Delhi, marched to the Punjab, which he himself coveted, in 1756, brought it under his authority, and appointed Mīr Mun'im, "the leading nobleman of Lahore", governor of the province. Enraged at this, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India for the fourth time in November, 1756, with greater determination, and arrived before Delhi on the 23rd January, 1757. The imperial city was "plundered and its unhappy people again subjected to pillage". Imād-ul-mulk surrendered and was pardoned by the invader, who obtained from the Mughul Emperor the formal cession of the Punjab, Kāshmīr, Sind and the Sirhind district. After plundering the Jāt country, south of Delhi, the Abdālī retired from India in April, 1757, with immense booty and many captives, leaving his son, Tīmūr Shāh, as his viceroy at Lahore with Jahān Khān, the able Afghān general, as the latter's *wazīr*.

The administration of Tīmūr Shāh for one year, from May 1757 to April 1758, was a period of utter lawlessness and disorder. The Sikh community, infuriated by the maltreatment of one of its leaders, rose in rebellion on all sides. Ādīna Beg Khān, governor of the Jullundur Doāb, revolting against the Afghāns, called in the Marāthas to help him. A large army of the Marāthas under the command of Raghunāth Rāo invaded the Punjab in April, 1758, occupied Lahore and expelled the Afghāns. They retired from the Punjab leaving Ādīna Beg Khān as their governor there. But the occupation of Lahore by the Marāthas did not last for more than six months. To avenge their expulsion of Tīmūr Shāh, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India for the fifth time in October, 1759, and finally conquered the Punjab. A more severe collision of the Afghāns with the Marāthas was inevitable, because both had been, more or less, contending for political supremacy in Hindustān. This took place on the field of Pānīpat on the 14th January, A.D. 1761. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī departed from India towards the close of A.D. 1762. He ordered the Indian chiefs to recognise Shāh 'Ālam II as Emperor. Nājib-ud-daulah and

Munīr-ud-daulah agreed to pay to the Abdālī, on behalf of the Indian Government, an annual tribute of forty lacs.

The Sikhs, who had revived by this time, slew Khwāja Abid, the Durrānī governor of Lahore, and occupied the city. This brought back the Abdālī to Lahore in March, 1764. He had, however, to return to his own country, after a fortnight's stay at Lahore, owing to the outbreak of a civil war there and a mutiny among his troops. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī invaded India again in 1767. He could not succeed in effectively thwarting the Sikhs and had to retreat soon "with a consciousness of his ultimate failure", owing to some internal troubles, chiefly the mutiny of his troops clamouring for pay which they had not received regularly. No sooner had he turned back than the Sikhs reoccupied Lahore and the entire open country. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī "retained hold of Peshāwār and the country west of Attock, while he abandoned the Manjha districts and central Punjab including Lahore to the Sikhs; but the Sind-Sāgar and Jech Doāb in the western Punjab remained a debatable land which finally came into their possession in the days of his unworthy successors".

Though Ahmad Shāh Abdālī had to return hurriedly from India, his invasion affected the history of this country in several ways. Firstly, it accelerated the dismemberment of the tottering Mughul Empire. Secondly, it offered a serious check to the rapidly spreading Marātha imperialism. Thirdly, it indirectly helped the rise of the Sikh power. "His career in India," observes a modern writer, "is very intimately a part of the Sikh struggle for independence." Lastly, the menace of Afghān invasion kept the English East India Company in great anxiety, both during the lifetime of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī and for some time after his death.

4. Rise of New Muslim States

On the decline of the central authority at Delhi, the inevitable centrifugal tendency was manifest in different parts of the Empire, and the provincial viceroys made themselves independent of the titular Delhi Emperor for all practical purposes, merely pretending to own a theoretical allegiance to his nominal authority. The most important of them were the subahdārs of the Deccan, Oudh and Bengal.

A. The Deccan

The Deccan *subah* became independent under Mīr Qamār-ud-dīn Chīn Qilīch Khān, better known as the Nizām-ul-mulk. His

grandfather, Khwāja Abid Shaikh-ul-Islām of Bukhārā, migrated to India about the middle of the seventeenth century and entered the service of Aurangzeb. Ghāzī-ud-dīn Fīrūz Jang, father of the Nizām, also came to India during the reign of Aurangzeb and rose to fame by holding several posts in the Mughul imperial service. Mīr Qamār-ud-dīn himself was appointed to a small command in his thirteenth year but he was promoted quickly and given the title of Chīn Qilīch Khān. At the time of Aurangzeb's death, Chīn Qilīch Khān was at Bijāpur, and observed perfect neutrality during the war of succession among the sons of the Emperor. Bahādur Shāh removed him from the Deccan and made him governor of Oudh. He retired from public service for some time but entered it again towards the close of Bahādur Shāh's reign with the title of his father, Ghāzī-ud-din Fīrūz Jang. Farrukhsiyar appointed him governor of the Deccan (1713) and invested him with the titles of Khān Khānān and Nizām-ul-mulk Bahādur Fath Jang, as a reward for his having espoused his cause. From the very outset of his viceroyalty the Nīzām-ul-mulk tried to check the growing strength of the Marāthas in the Deccan. But owing to party cliques at the Delhi court, he had to lose his viceroyalty of the Deccan by the end of 1713, and it was then conferred on Sayyid Husain 'Ālī. The Nizām-ul-mulk was transferred to Murādābād and subsequently his removal to Bihār was also thought of. But before he took charge of the new province, Farrukhsiyar's regime came to a close, and he was transferred to the government of Mālwa. It was in Mālwa that the Nizām-ul-mulk was able to lay the foundation of his future greatness. His activities there roused the suspicions of the Sayyids, who, in disregard of a previous promise, again issued orders for his transfer. But instead of submitting to these orders, he prepared to defend his position by arms. He defeated and slew Dilwār 'Ālī Khān and 'Alim 'Ālī Khān; and Husain 'Ālī, while getting ready to march against him, was stabbed to death. After the fall of the Sayyids, he again made himself master of the Deccan towards the end of 1720. On the death of his cousin, the *wazīr* Amīn Khān, in 1721, the Nizām-ul-mulk was summoned to Delhi and was appointed to the office of *wazīr* in February, 1722. But he did not find himself happy in the vitiated atmosphere of the Delhi court, where the frivolous courtiers of Muhammad Shāh rejected his advice and poisoned the Emperor's mind against him. So he left for the Deccan without the Emperor's permission in the third week of December, A.D. 1723. His enemies led their credulous ruler to believe that he was in rebellion and induced the Emperor to send secret instructions to Mubāriz Khān,

governor of Hyderābād, to fight against him, promising him the viceroyalty of the Deccan in the event of his success. But the Nizām-ul-mulk not only defeated and slew Mubāriz Khān at Sakhar Kheda in Berar on the 11th October, 1724, but also indirectly compelled the wretched Emperor of Delhi to recognise him as the viceroy of the south and confer on him the title of Āsaf Jāh, which his descendant still bears. "From this time may be dated the Nizām-ul-mulk's virtual independence and the foundation of the present Hyderābād State." The Nizām-ul-mulk's efficient administration of the Deccan has been highly praised by Khāfī Khān. Ghulām Husain also observes: "It is an extensive tract (the Deccan *subah*) that he governed with an absolute authority for the space of seven and thirty years." He died at the grand old age of ninety-one on the 21st May, 1748, when the quarrels for succession to the Deccan government gave opportunities to the European trading companies to interfere vigorously in the politics of the *subah.*

B. Oudh

The *subah* of Oudh then comprised not only modern Oudh but also Benares to the east of it, a part of the territory to its west and some districts near Allahābād and Cawnpore. The founder of the kingdom of Oudh was Sa'ādat Khān, an immigrant from Khurāsān. Appointed governor of Oudh in 1724, he rapidly rose to power and fame, and was summoned to Delhi at the time of Nādir's invasion; but he committed suicide the same year. The next governor of Oudh was Sa'ādat Khān's nephew and son-in-law, Safdar Jang. Appointed *wazīr* of the Delhi empire in 1748, Safdar Jang played an important part in the contemporary history of India till some time before his death in 1754, in spite of the opposition of Āsaf Jāh Nizām-ul-mulk's son and grandson. He was succeeded in the government of Oudh by his son, Shujā-ud-daulah, who also became the *wazīr* of the empire and was one of the principal figures in the history of Northern India till he died in A.D. 1775.

C. The Bengal Subah

Murshid Qulī Jāfar Khān, appointed governor of Bengal by Aurangzeb in 1705, proved to be a strong and able ruler, though he occasionally adopted severe measures to collect revenues from the local zamindārs. He transferred the capital of Bengal from Dacca to Murshidābād. Fully alive to the economic interests of

his province, he made attempts to prevent the abuse of *dastaks* by the servants of the English East India Company and wanted to collect from them the same amount of duties on trade as the Indian merchants had to pay. After his death in A.D. 1727, his son-in-law, Shujā-ud-dīn Khān, succeeded him in the government of Bengal. It was during the regime of Shujā-ud-dīn that the Bihār *subah*, the eastern limit of which extended up to Teliāgarhī (near Sāhebganj on the E.I. Ry. Loop Line), was annexed to Bengal about A.D. 1733 and 'Ālīvardī was sent as its *nāib nāzim.* Shujā-ud-dīn died in 1739, after which his son, Sarfarāz Khān, became the Nawāb of Bengal. But the new Nawāb's regime was not destined to last long. 'Ālīvardī, his brother Hājī Ahmad, the *rāyrāyān* 'Ālamchānd and Jagat Seth Fateh Chānd, organised a conspiracy against him. 'Ālīvardī marched from Bihār, defeated and slew Sarfarāz at Giriā, near Rājmahal, on the 10th April, A.D. 1740, and occupied the *masnad* of Bengal. He secured imperial confirmation of his new authority through questionable means, and began to govern the province in an independent manner. Trained in the school of adversity, 'Ālīvardī had developed some good qualities, which helped him to become an able administrator. Ghulām Husain observes: "A prudent, keen and a valorous soldier, there are hardly any qualifications which he did not possess." His attitude towards the European traders was strict but impartial, and he exacted occasional contributions from them only under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances. But destiny allowed him no rest to enjoy peacefully the *masnad* that he had seized by force. The Marātha invasions of Bengal from year to year during the greater part of his regime were a source of keen anxiety, and the rebellions of his Afghān generals, in alliance with their compatriots of Dārbhangā in Bihār, proved to be a serious menace to his authority. Unable to repel the Marāthas, even by assassinating one of their generals, Bhāskhar Pandit, at Mankarāh near Cāssimbāzār, 'Ālīvardī concluded a treaty with them in May or June, A.D. 1751, whereby he agreed to pay them an annual tribute of twelve lacs of rupees as *chauth* and also ceded to them the revenues of a part of Orissa. This opened the way for ultimate Marātha supremacy over Orissa, which could not be done away with by the English till about A.D. 1803. 'Ālīvardī died in April, A.D. 1756, when the *masnad* of Bengal passed to his heir-designate and favourite grandson, Mīrzā Muhammad, better known as Nawāb Sirāj-ud-daulah, whose brief regime of about one year and two months forms a turning-point in the history of Bengal and also of India.

5. Political Revival of the Hindus

One prominent factor in the history of India during the eighteenth century was the revival of the Hindus. It was not, however, characterised by any spirit of an all-India national, religious or cultural renaissance, but by isolated attempts on the part of the different Hindu or semi-Hindu powers, such as the Rājputs, the Sikhs, the Jāts and the Marāthas, to establish their respective political supremacy on the ruins of the Mughul Empire.

A. The Rājputs

The principal Rājput states like Mewār (Udaipur), Mārwār (Jodhpur) and Amber (Jaipur), whose sympathy for the Empire had been alienated by Aurangzeb, tried to throw off their allegiance to it after the death of that Emperor. They were first brought to submission by Bahādur Shāh. But very soon, Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, Jay Singh II of Amber and Durgādās Rāthor departed from the Emperor's camp on the 30th April, 1708, and formed a league against him. In view of the Sikh rising in the north of Sirhind, Bahādur Shāh pacified the Rājputs by conciliatory measures. But during the disorder that followed his death, Ajit Singh invaded the imperial territories. Sayyid Husain 'Ālī was sent to subdue the Mārwār chief, but the court-politics of the time had become so vitiated that the Emperor and the anti-Sayyid clique secretly urged the Rājput ruler "to make away with Husain 'Ālī in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakhshi's property and treasure would become his; and he would, in addition, receive other rewards". Ajit Singh, however, could not carry out these instructions. He came to terms with Husain 'Ālī without a single battle, and in 1714 concluded peace with the Emperor by agreeing to give him one of his daughters in marriage. The marriage was celebrated the next year.

Henceforth, the chiefs of Jodhpur and Jaipur played important parts in Delhi politics and "by opportune aloofness or adherence they had added to their possessions a large portion of the Empire". The Sayyids tried to attach them to their party and they were rewarded with some appointments besides holding their own dominions in full sovereignty. Ajit Singh remained governor of Ajmer and Gujarāt till 1721. During the reign of Muhammad Shāh, Jay Singh II of Jaipur was appointed governor of Surāt, and after the fall of the Sayyids, he received also the government of Āgra. "In this way the country from a point sixty miles south

of Delhi to the shores of the ocean at Surāt was in the hands of these two Rājās, very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughuls on this exposed frontier." Ajit Singh secretly assisted the Marāthas in their activities in Western India, and was removed from the government of Gujarāt. He met with a tragic and mysterious death at the hands of his son, Bhakt Singh. The revival of the Rājputs was only temporary. Woeful days of internal disorder and foreign exploitation were in store for their land.

B. The Sikhs

Guru Govind was stabbed by an Afghān in 1708. After his assassination the Sikhs found a leader in Bāndā. Proceeding to the north, Bāndā organised a large number of Sikhs and captured Sirhind after killing its *faujdār*, Wazīr Khān, the murderer of Guru Govind's children. The country between the Sutlej and the Jnmnā next fell under his control. He established the stronghold of Lohgarh (or Blood and Iron Fort) at Mukhlīspur, half-way between Nahan and Sadhaurā, where he "tried to assume something of regal state" and struck coins in his own name. The Emperor marched against him and besieged the fort of Lohgarh, whereupon he fled away with many of his followers into the hills north of Lahore. However, after the death of Bahādur Shāh, Bāndā came out of hiding, occupied the town of Sadhaurā, recovered the fort of Lohgarh and again plundered the province of Sirhind. But in 1715 he was besieged in the fortress of Gurudāspur. The Sikhs fought desperately "contending among themselves for martyrdom, and many of them were captured after a fierce resistance". Bāndā and his followers were sent to Delhi and were relentlessly treated. "A reward was given for every Sikh head." Taunted by a noble, Bāndā replied that he had been "a mere scourge in the hands of God for the chastisement of the wicked and that he was now receiving the meed of his own crimes against the Almighty". His own son was killed before his eyes; and he himself "was tormented to death under the feet of elephants". Thus "the fortunes of the Sikh nation sank to the lowest ebb in 1716".

But the military power of the Sikhs could not be completely destroyed. The tenets of Nānak and Govind had "taken deep root in the hearts of the people; the peasant and the mechanic nursed their faith in secret, and the more ardent clung to the hope of ample revenge and speedy victory". The Sikhs began to organise themselves gradually, and Kapur Singh, a resident of

Fyzullāpur, started an organisation which developed later into the celebrated *Dal Khālsā* or the theocracy of the Sikhs. The disorders and confusion in the Punjab, following the invasion of Nādir Shāh, were utilised by the Sikhs to augment their financial resources and increase their military strength. "The suppression of the Sikhs, difficult under all circumstances, became even more difficult now." They built a fort at Dalewāl on the Rāvī, and plundering the country around, carried their depredations to the vicinity of Lahore. The invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī also helped the rise of the Sikh power to a great extent. Though they met with some reverses after 1752, they ultimately gained complete victory. Especially after the third battle of Pānīpat, they took advantage of the disturbed political condition of the country to organise and strengthen themselves sufficiently, and greatly harassed the Abdālī on his return march. They opposed the Abdālī in his subsequent invasions, and after his invasion in 1767 reoccupied the entire open country.

C. The Jāts

Towards the close of the reign of Aurangzeb, predatory bands of the Jāts under individual village headmen like Rājārām, Bhajja and Churāman carried out depredations round Delhi and Āgra and increased their power. But whatever they could achieve was lost when in 1721 Sawai Jay Singh II captured Churāman's stronghold of Thun and the latter committed suicide. "Up to the middle of the eighteenth century," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "there was as yet no Jāt State, no politically united Jāt nation, no Jāt king standing clearly above the other village headmen or even recognised as first among equals; but only a robber leader whose success had drawn to his banners many of his peers in social status as partners in his adventures and plunder." But the scattered units of the Jāts were subjected to the "grasp of a superior controlling force" by Badan Singh, the son of Churāman's brother, Bhāo Singh. In the face of great difficulties, Badan Singh established the authority of his house over almost the whole of the Āgra and Muttrā districts by "matchless cunning, tireless patience, and wise versatility in the choice of means", and also by marriage alliances with some powerful Jāt families. Badan Singh died on the 7th June, 1756. His adopted son and successor, Sūraj Mal, who has been described by a contemporary historian as "the Plato of the Jāt tribe" and by a modern writer as the "Jāt Ulysses", because of his "political sagacity, steady intellect and clear vision", extended the authority

of the Bharatpur kingdom over the districts of Āgra, Dholpur, Mainpurī, Hāthrās, 'Ālīgarh, Etāwah, Meerut, Rohtak, Farrukhnagar, Mewāt, Rewārī, Gurgāon and Muttrā. Sūrajmal, the greatest warrior and the ablest statesman that the Jāts have produced, died on the 25th December, 1763. "The reputation of the Jāt race reached its highest point under him and after him it was sure to decline."

D. The Marāthas

The Marāthas were the most formidable of the Hindu powers who made a bid for supremacy on the dismemberment of the Mughul Empire. They could not, indeed, form any strong determination of founding an empire immediately after the death of Aurangzeb, but were absorbed for a few years in internal quarrels. 'A'zam Shāh released Shivājī II, better known as Shāhū, in 1707 at the suggestion of Zu'lfiqār Khān. Zu'lfiqār Khān pointed out that Shāhū's return to his kingdom would inevitably cause a division among the Marāthas, who would thus be disabled from plundering the imperial territories when the main army was absent from the Deccan. It happened as he had expected. The claims of Shāhū were strongly opposed by Tārā Bāī, and a protracted civil war consequently ensued. Shāhū ultimately came out victorious, mainly with the help and advice of a Chitpāvan Brāhmaṇa from the Konkān, named Bālājī Viswanāth.

Born of a poor family, Bālājī Viswanāth was appointed in 1708 a *carcoon* or revenue clerk by Dhanājī Jādav, the *senāpati* or commander-in-chief of Shāhū. After Dhanājī's death, he was associated with the former's son, Chandra Sena Jādav, and received from him the title of *Senā Karte*, organiser or "agent in charge of the army", in 1712. Thus he got opportunities to display his ability both as a civil administrator and a military organiser, before Shāhū, in recognition of the valuable services rendered by him, appointed him *Peshwā* or prime minister on the 16th November, 1713. In theory, the office of the *Pratinidhi* was higher than that of the Peshwā, but by virtue of superior talents and abilities, Bālājī Viswanāth and his illustrious son and successor, Bāji Rāo I, made the Peshwā the real head of the Marātha Empire, the *Chhatrapati* or the king being, in the course of a few years, relegated to the background.

The Marāthas did not fail to utilise the distractions of the tottering Empire to their advantage. Bālājī Viswanāth obtained important concessions in reality from Husain 'Ālī when the latter came to the Deccan and in form only from the puppet Emperor of

Delhi. To win over the Marāthas to his party, Husain 'Ālī concluded a treaty with them in 1714 on the following terms: (i) Shāhū was to get back all the territories that had once belonged to Shivājī but had been conquered by the Mughuls, and to these were to be added the provinces of Khāndesh, Gondwāna, Berar, and the districts in Hyderābād and the Karnātak, conquered by the Marāthas, (ii) the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī* of the six *subahs* of the Deccan were assigned to Shāhū, who was required, in return, to maintain 15,000 horse for imperial service, to pay an annual tribute of ten lacs of rupees, and to preserve peace and order in the Deccan. The acknowledgment of the overlordship of the Emperor of Delhi by Shāhū meant a complete departure from the ideal of absolute independence cherished by Shivājī, and the concessions secured by the Marāthas did not in any way affect the suzerainty of Delhi. But it should be noted that these were of much practical value. The treaty of 1714 has been rightly regarded as "a landmark in Marātha history", as by it the Marāthas were recognised "as co-partners in the revenues of the Imperial provinces, and, as a corollary, in political power there".

To destroy the ascendancy of the anti-Sayyid party at the Delhi court, Sayyid Husain 'Ālī marched to Delhi with his new allies, and after deposing Farrukhsiyar placed another puppet on the throne, who was constrained to confirm the treaty already concluded between Husain 'Ālī and the Marāthas. The march of the Marāthas to Delhi in 1719 was a significant event in their history. "The prestige of their presence at the imperial capital, not as mercenaries, but as the allies and supporters of the king-makers, held out to them a promise that they might some day make and unmake Emperors. Indeed, it was the surest basis on which Bālājī Viswanāth could confidently build his policy of founding a Marātha Empire." The power of the Marāthas also increased in other ways. Through the revival of the *jāgīr* system in the troubled days of Rājārām, the Marātha adventurers had splendid opportunities to carve out independent principalities for themselves. In addition to this, the Marāthas secured the right of collecting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhī*, for which distinct areas were distributed by Bālājī Viswanāth among the chief Marātha officers, who also took part in the wars of contending Muslim nobles as paid partisans.

After Bālājī Viswanāth's death in 1720, his son, Bājī Rāo I, a promising young man, was invested with the office of the Peshwā. The Peshwāship came to be hereditary in the family of Bālājī Viswanāth.

Bājī Rāo I was not merely an able soldier but also a wise statesman. He at once perceived that the Mughul Empire was nearing its end and that the situation could be well utilised to enhance the power of the Marāthas by securing the sympathy of the Hindu chiefs. Bold and imaginative, he definitely formulated the policy of Marātha imperialism, initiated by the first Peshwā, by launching a policy of expansion beyond the Narmadā with a view to striking at the centre of the imperial power. So he suggested to his master Shāhū: "Let us strike at the trunk of the withering tree. The branches will fall of themselves. Thus should the Marātha flag fly from the Kṛishṇā to the Indus." This policy of Bājī Rāo was not supported by many of his colleagues, who urged on him the advisability of consolidating the Marātha power in the south before undertaking northern conquests. But by eloquence and enthusiasm, he persuaded his master to sanction his plan of northern expansion.

To evoke the sympathy and secure the support of the Hindu chiefs, Bājī Rāo I preached the ideal of *Hindu-Pād-Pādshāhī* or a Hindu Empire. When he invaded Mālwa in December, 1723, the local Hindu zamindārs assisted him greatly although they had to make thereby enormous sacrifices in life and money. Taking advantage of a civil war in Gujarāt, the Marāthas established their hold in that rich province. But the intervention of Bājī Rāo I in its affairs was strongly resented by a rival Marātha party under the leadership of the hereditary *senāpati* or commander-in-chief Trimbak Rāo Dhābāde. Rājā Shambhūjī II of the Kolhāpur branch of Shivājī's family and the Nizām-ul-mulk, jealous of Bāji Rāo I's successes, joined Trimbak Rāo Dhābāde. But Bājī Rāo I, by force of his superior genius, frustrated the plans of his enemies. Trimbak Rāo Dhābāde was defeated and slain in a battle, fought on the 1st April, 1731, on the plains of Bilhāpur near Dhāboī between Barodā and that town. This victory of Bājī Rāo I "forms a landmark in the history of the Peshwās". It left him without any serious rival at home and "with all but nominal control of the Marātha sovereignty". With the Nizām-ul-mulk also he arrived at a compromise in August, 1731, by which the former "was to be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the south, the Peshwā in the north".

Bājī Rāo I fortunately secured the friendship of Jay Singh II Sawai of Amber and Chhatrasāl Bundelā. In 1737 he marched on to the vicinity of Delhi but did not enter it in order to avoid hurting the Emperor's sentiments. To get rid of this Marātha menace, the Emperor summoned the Nizām-ul-mulk, the arch-enemy of Bājī Rāo I, to Delhi for help. The Nizām-ul-mulk had no scruple in

ignoring the compromise of 1731 and at once responded to the Emperor's call, which he considered to give a favourable opportunity of checking the rising power of Bājī Rāo I. The two rivals met near Bhopāl. The Nizām-ul-mulk was defeated and compelled to submit to terms by which he promised "to grant to Bājī Rāo the whole of Mālwa, and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Narmadā and the Chambal; to obtain a confirmation of this cession from the Emperor; and to use every endeavour to procure the payment of fifty lakhs of rupees, to defray the Peshwā's expenses". These arrangements being sanctioned by the Emperor, Marātha supremacy, already established *de facto* in a part of Hindustān proper, became also *de jure*. On the west coast, the Marāthas captured Salsette and Bassein from the Portuguese in 1739. But soon Bājī Rāo I was somewhat perturbed by the news of Nādir Shāh's invasion. By sinking all his differences with his Muslim neighbours, the Peshwā made an attempt to present a united opposition to the Persian invader, but before anything could be done, he died a premature death in April, 1740, at the age of forty-two. Thus passed away one of the greatest Marātha statesmen, who, in spite of some blots in his private character, tried his utmost to serve the cause of the Marātha State. He may very well be regarded as the second founder of the Marātha Empire.

Though Bājī Rāo I enhanced the power and prestige of the Marāthas to a considerable degree, the State which he ruled in his master's name lacked compactness. Through the revival of the *jāgīr* system in Rājārām's time, some semi-independent Marātha principalities grew up within it. The natural consequence of this was the weakening of the Marātha central government and "its ultimate collapse". One of the earliest and most important of such principalities was Berar, then under Raghūjī Bhonsle, related to Shāhū by marriage. His family was older than that of the Peshwā, as it had become prominent during Rājārām's reign. The Dhābādes originally held Gujarāt, but after the fall of the hereditary *senāpati*, his former subordinates, the Gāikwārs, established their authority at Barodā. Ranojī Sindhia, founder of the Sindhia house of Gwālior, served creditably under Bājī Rāo I, and, after the annexation of Mālwa to the Marātha State, a part of the province fell to his share. Malhār Rāo Holkar of the Indore family also served with distinction under Bājī Rāo I and obtained a part of Mālwa. A small fief in Mālwa was granted to the Pawars, who made Dhār their headquarters.

Bājī Rāo I was succeeded as Peshwā by his eldest son, Bālājī II, commonly known as Nānā Sāheb and Bālājī Bājī Rāo, in spite of

the opposition of some Marātha chiefs. Bālājī was a youth of eighteen at the time, fond of ease and pleasure, and did not possess the superior talents of his father. But he was not devoid of ability, and, "after the manner of his father, engaged vigorously in the prosecution of hostilities, the organisation and equipment of a large army, and the preparation of all the munitions of war". He secured the services of some able and experienced officers of his father. Shāhū, on the eve of his death in 1749, left a deed giving the Peshwā supreme power in the State, with certain reservations. The Peshwā was to perpetuate the name of the Rājā and to preserve the dignity of the house of Shivājī through the grandson of Tārā Bāī and his descendants. He was also required to regard the Kolhāpur State as independent and recognise the existing rights of the *jāgīrdārs*, with whom he could enter into such arrangements "as might be beneficial for extending Hindu power; for protecting the temples of the gods; the cultivators of the soil, and whatever was sacred or useful". This arrangement was challenged by Tārā Bāī, who, acting in concert with Dāmājī Gāikwār, rose in arms against the Peshwā and threw the young Rājā into confinement. The Peshwā, however, defeated his opponents. The Rājā remained a virtual prisoner in the hands of his "Mayor of the Palace", the Peshwā, who became henceforth the real head of the Marātha confederacy.

Bālājī Bājī Rāo was determined to further the cause of Marātha imperialism; but he unwisely departed from the policy of his father in two respects. Firstly, the army underwent a revolutionary change in his time. The light infantry formed the chief source of strength in the days of Shivājī. Though Bājī Rāo I engaged a large number of cavalry, he did not give up the old tactics of fighting. But Bālājī admitted into the army many non-Marātha mercenaries of all descriptions with a view to introducing Western modes of warfare. The army thus lost its national character, and it did not become easy to maintain a number of alien elements under proper discipline and control. The old method of fighting was also partly abandoned. Secondly, Bālājī deliberately gave up his father's ideal of *Hindu-Pād-Pādshāhī*, which aimed at uniting all the Hindu chiefs under one flag. His followers resorted to the old plan of predatory warfare, and the ravages that they committed indiscriminately against the Muslims as well as the Hindus alienated the sympathies of the Rājputs and other Hindu chiefs. Thus Marātha imperialism ceased to stand for an India-wide nationalism, and it became no longer possible for it to organise the Hindu powers under one banner against the Muslim powers, internal or external.

These defects in Bālājī's policy did not, however, immediately check the expansion of the Marātha power both in the south and in the north. A large number of Marāthas appeared before Seringapatam in March, 1757, and forcibly levied tribute from most of the principalities south of the Kṛishṇā. The Nawāb of Arcot promised to pay "two lakhs in ready money, and two and a half lakhs in assignments" for the arrears of *chauth*. The Marāthas also invaded Bednore and the Hindu kingdom of Mysore and assisted the English under Clive and Watson in suppressing the sea-captain Angria. No doubt their progress was somewhat checked by Hyder, the rising general of Mysore, by Bussy the clever Frenchman, and by Nizām 'Ālī of Hyderābād. But the Peshwā's cousin, Sadāsiv Rāo, inflicted a defeat on Nizām 'Ālī at Udgīr in 1760. Ibrāhīm Khān Gardī, a brave Muslim artilleryman trained in Western methods of fighting under Bussy in the Nizām's army, joined the Marāthas. A treaty was concluded by the latter with Nizām 'Ālī by which they got the whole province of Bijāpur, nearly the whole of Aurangābād and a portion of Bīdar, together with some forts including the famous fortress of Daulatābād. These were valuable gains of the Marāthas at the cost of Mughul possessions in the Deccan, which thus came to be "confined to an insulated space".

More striking and significant was the expansion of the Marāthas in the north. At the end of the year 1756 Malhār Rāo Holkar, and, some weeks later, Raghunāth Rāo, were again sent to the north. Though Raghunāth Rāo was detained for about four months in Rājputāna, a force of 20,000 men sent by him under Sakhārām Bāpu cleverly secured the friendship of the Jāts and once more asserted Marātha supremacy in the Doāb. The Marāthas then entered into an alliance with the Delhi court against Nājib-ud-daulah, who had been left by the Abdālī as his "supreme agent" at Delhi and dictator over the Emperor. They attacked Delhi in August, A.D. 1757, and compelled Nājib-ud-daulah to surrender and make peace in September on terms dictated by them. Placing Delhi in the friendly hands of the *wazīr* Imād, Raghunāth Rāo and Malhār Rāo directed their efforts towards conquering the Punjab from the Abdālī's son, Tīmūr Shāh. They captured Sirhind in March and Lahore in April, 1758, and retired from the Punjab after appointing there the experienced local noble, Ādīna Beg Khān, as their viceroy, who promised to pay an annual tribute of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. They left, however, no adequate force for the defence of the newly acquired province. Thus Raghunāth Rāo's policy seemed to have "carried the Hindu paramountcy up to Attock". But "on a calm examination", remarks Sir J. N.

Sarkar, "Raghunāth's vaunted achievement is found to be politically a hollow show and financially barren". It secured not a pice for the Poona treasury but "saddled it with a debt of eighty lakhs to bankers, besides the arrears due to troops". Politically, it made another war with the Abdālī inevitable.

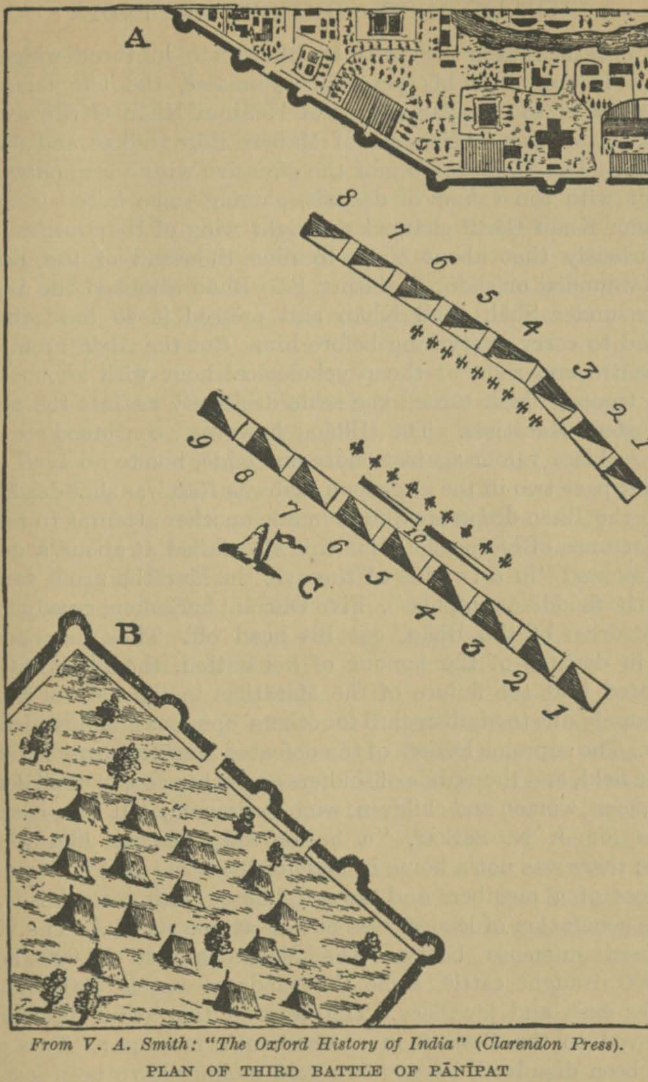
The Marātha domination over the Punjab could give no peace to the province. Ādīna Beg died on the 13th October, 1758, and the whole of the Punjab fell into anarchy and confusion affecting Marātha interests. To remove this, the Peshwā sent a strong force to that province under Dattājī Sindhia in 1759, and the latter placed Sābājī Sindhia as governor there. But the province was soon invaded by a strong Durrānī army, and by the end of November, 1759, the Punjab was finally lost to the Delhi Empire. Ahmad Shāh Abdālī then marched towards Delhi. He had this time the advantage of securing the co-operation of the Ruhelas, who had been harassed by the Marāthas, and that of the Nawāb of Oudh, who believed that the Marāthas were then the greatest enemies of the Muslim position in India. The Marāthas, on the other hand, could not act in combination with the Rājputs, who were alienated by the unsympathetic policy of Bālājī Bājī Rāo, and preferred to remain neutral; nor could they secure the alliance of the Sikhs, who had been rising in the Punjab. In fact, the short-sighted policy of Bālājī now reacted in depriving the Marāthas of the support of many of the principal indigenous powers at a very critical moment, when they were faced with a formidable opposition from the Durrānīs and their Indian allies.

The Abdālī defeated Dattājī Sindhia at Thānesar towards the end of December, 1759, and compelled him to fall back towards Delhi. The Marātha general was killed by the Afghāns at Barārī Ghāt, about ten miles north of Delhi, on the 9th January, 1760. "From the fatal field of Barārī Ghāt the Marātha army fled headlong towards the south-west, with the fresh Durrānī horsemen on their heels." The attempts of Jānkojī Sindhia and Malhār Rāo Holkar to oppose the march of the Abdālī also failed. Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāo, whose recent victory over the Nizām at Udgīr had immensely enhanced his reputation, was sent by the Peshwā with a large army to recover the lost predominance of the Marāthas in the north. By way of a brake on him, the Peshwā's son, Vishwās, a lad of seventeen, was sent as the nominal commander of this army. At the beginning the Bhāo's head was not "turned by insolence and pride"; rather he intended to increase his resources and strength by addition of arms and munitions and by securing the support of some North-Indian allies. He captured Delhi on

the 3rd August, 1760, but, unluckily for the Marāthas, Sūrajmal, "the shrewdest Hindu potentate then alive", abandoned their side owing to some differences of opinion with the Bhāo, who also antagonised Malhār Rāo Holkar. Further, "the coveted capital of India proved a Dead Sea apple" to the Bhāo, who got no adequate resources therefrom but whose difficulties were much aggravated by its occupation. About the middle of August he moved north from Delhi, and reached Pānīpat on the 29th October, 1760.

In the meanwhile, the Abdālī had captured 'Ālīgarh, compelled the Jāt Rājā to promise tribute, and had been able, through the support of his most helpful and constant Indian ally, Nājib-ud-daulah, to secure the alliance of Shujā-ud-daulah of Oudh, whose interests had been affected by Marātha ambition in the north and north-east. After undergoing some hardships and losses in the Doāb, the Abdālī arrived near Pānīpat on the 1st of November 1760. Thus the Afghāns and the Marāthas met on the historic field of Pānīpat, where decisive contests had been fought in former ages. The strength of the Afghān army was 60,000, half of which were the Abdālī's own subjects (23,000 horse and 7,000 foot) and the other half his Indian allies (7,000 horse and 23,000 foot). The Marātha army consisted of 45,000 soldiers in cavalry and infantry. Besides having superior horses, the Abdālī had artillery more efficient and mobile than that of the Marāthas, and his officers were clad in armour which the Marāthas hardly wore. In respect of their manner of campaigning, marching and discipline, the Afghān army was superior to the Marātha host. "The strict enforcement of order in camp and battlefield, the rigid punishment of the least disobedience in any subordinate, the control of every officer's movements according to the plan of the supreme chief, the proper gradation of officers forming an unbroken chain between the generalissimo and the common soldier, the regular transmission of his orders by an efficient staff organisation, and above all the fine control of the troops—which distinguished Ahmad Shāh's army—were unapproached by any other Asiatic force of that age. Above all there was the transcendent genius for war and diplomacy and the towering personality of the master—who had risen like Nādir from nothing and attained to almost the same pre-eminence of fortune and invincibility in war."

After a few minor skirmishes and battles near Pānīpat for about two months and a half, during which period the Marātha army suffered some losses and was reduced almost to starvation owing to lack of provisions, it marched to give battle in the morning of



From V. A. Smith: "The Oxford History of India" (Clarendon Press).

PLAN OF THIRD BATTLE OF PĀNĪPAT

A. Pānīpat town and Marātha camp. B. The Durrānī camp. C. Ahmad Shāh's advanced tent. The numbers refer to the various divisions.

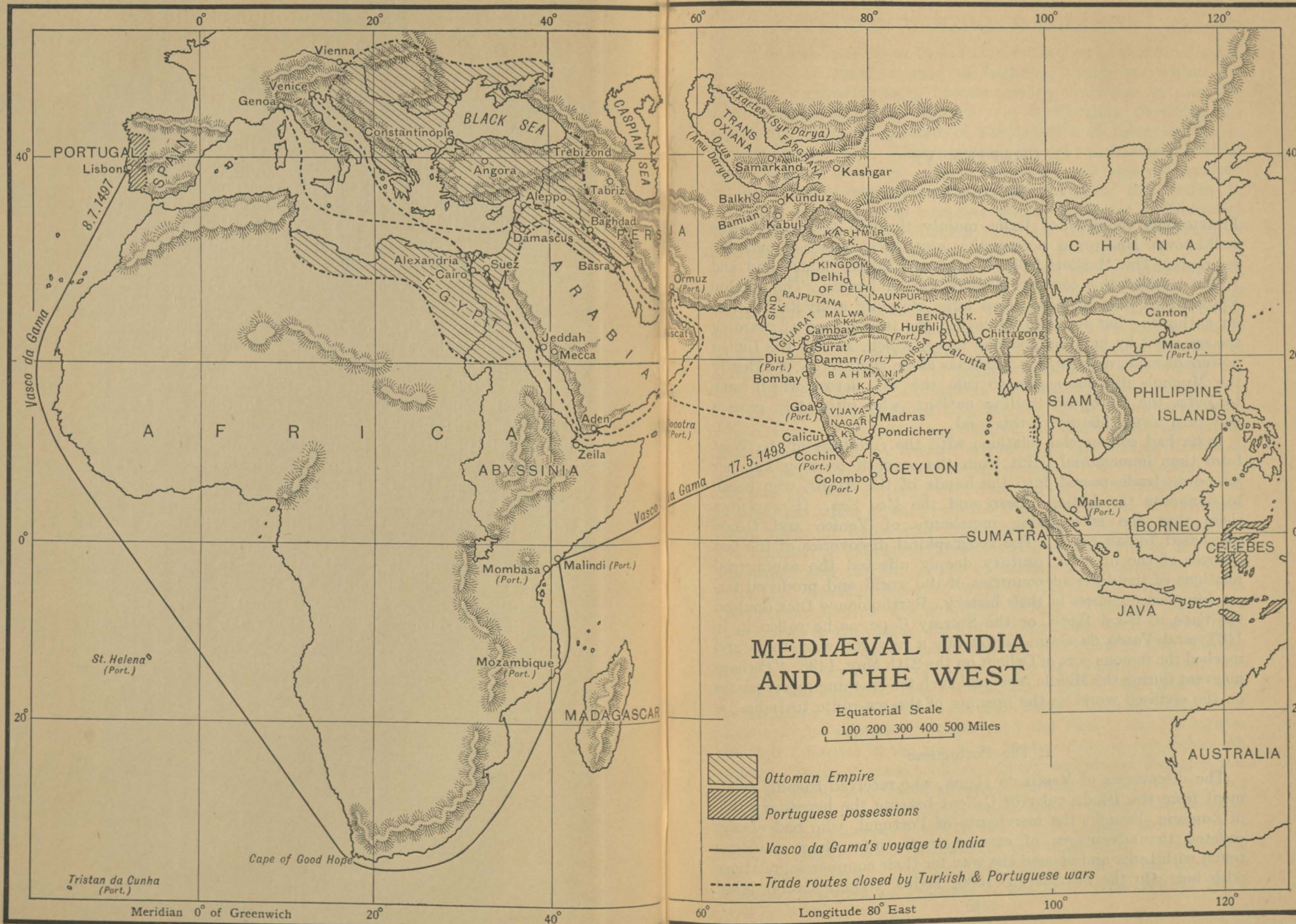
14th January, 1761. The Abdālī kept in the centre 18,000 of his own national troops in charge of his *wazīr*, Shāh Walī Khān, while two other corps of about 5,000 each, composed mostly of cavalry, were placed at his extreme right and left. Nājib and Shujā were placed on the left and the other Ruhelas on the right of his centre.

The Marāthas were arranged by the Bhāo in three wings—the centre being under his personal command, the left one being composed of the regular sepoys of Ibrāhīm Khān Gārdī, and the right one of the contingents of Malhār Rāo Holkar and Jānkojī Sindhia. The Marāthas began the offensive with a cannonade, and fought with the valour of despair, gaining some initial successes. Ibrāhīm Khān Gārdī charged the right wing of the Durrānī army so furiously that about eight to nine thousand of the Ruhelas were wounded or slain. Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāo attacked the Durrānī centre under Shāh Walī Khān and pressed it so hard that he seemed to carry everything before him. But the Abdālī reinforced his centre and right at the psychological hour with about 13,000 fresh troops, which turned the scale decisively against the already exhausted Marāthas. The Bhāo, however, continued to fight with reckless valour against enormous odds, but to no avail. At a quarter past two in the afternoon Vishwās Rāo was shot dead. This made the Bhāo desperate and he made another attempt to retrieve the fortunes of his people. But this also failed at about a quarter to three and "in a twinkle of the eye, the Marātha army vanished from the field like camphor". Five Durrānī horsemen, greedy for the costly dress of the Bhāo, cut his head off. Thus fell Sadāshiv Rāo in defence of the honour of his nation, though it must be admitted that the failure of the Marāthas in the field of Pānīpat was largely due to his disregard for others' opinions and miscalculated plans. The supreme leaders of the defeated Marātha army had fallen on the field, and thousands of soldiers and other people of all descriptions, men, women and children, were massacred. "It was, in short," writes Sir J. N. Sarkar, "a nation-wide disaster like Flodden Field; there was not a home in Mahārāshtra that had not to mourn the loss of a member, and several houses their very heads. An entire generation of leaders was cut off at one stroke." The victors captured immense booty. The Marāthas lost 50,000 horses, 200,000 draught cattle, some thousands of camels, 500 elephants, besides cash and jewellery. The news of this awful disaster was conveyed to the Peshwā in a merchant's message: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-two gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." The Peshwā, already suffering from a wasting disease, could not survive this national calamity. He died, broken-hearted, at Poona on the 23rd June, 1761.

The third battle of Pānīpat produced disastrous consequences for the Marāthas and seriously deflected the course of Marātha imperialism. Besides immense losses in men and money, the

moral effect of the defeat at Pānīpat was even greater. It revealed to the "Indian world that Marātha friendship was a very weak reed to lean upon in any real danger". The powerful Marātha confederacy henceforth lost its cohesion and the Peshwā's authority was terribly damaged. The Marāthas could never return to the position they had established before 1761. But it must not be thought that their power was irretrievably shattered by their discomfiture at Pānīpat. They quickly recovered some of their losses and made fresh attempts to re-establish their authority in Hindustān. The Abdālī could not stay in India as a permanent check on their revival, and he could not retain even the Punjab, where the Sikhs grew more and more troublesome. The next Peshwā, Mādhava Rāo I, a noble figure in Marātha history, "carried out the aims and objects of the Marātha policy as laid down by the first Peshwā" till he died in A.D. 1772. In considering the importance of the career of Mādhava Rāo I, Grant Duff observes that "the plains of Pānīpat were not more fatal to the Marātha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince". The Marāthas restored the exiled Mughul Emperor, Shāh 'Ālam II, to the capital of his forefathers in 1772; in 1789 Mahādājī Sindhia made himself a dictator at Delhi; and before being finally crushed, the Marāthas thrice opposed British attempts to establish dominion in India.

But none the less the third battle of Pānīpat "decided the fate of India". "The Marāthas and the Muhammadans weakened each other in that deadly conflict, facilitating the aims of the British for Indian supremacy." The rising British power got thereby the opportunity it needed so much to strengthen and consolidate its authority in India. "If Plassey had sown the seeds of British supremacy in India, Pānīpat afforded time for their maturing and striking roots." When the Marāthas again tried to check the supremacy of the English in India, the latter had been able to effect an immense improvement in their position.


MEDIÆVAL INDIA AND THE WEST
Equatorial Scale
0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles
Ottoman Empire
Portuguese possessions
Vasco da Gama's voyage to India
Trade routes closed by Turkish & Portuguese wars
Meridian 0° of Greenwich
Longitude 80° East
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
SPAIN
Genoa
Venice
ITALY
Vienna
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Trebizond
Angora
Tabriz
Aleppo
Baghdad
Damascus
PERSIA
Basra
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
EGYPT
ARABIA
Jeddah
Mecca
Aden
Zeila
ABYSSINIA
AFRICA
Mombasa (Port.)
Malindi (Port.)
Mozambique (Port.)
MADAGASCAR
St. Helena (Port.)
Cape of Good Hope
Tristan da Cunha (Port.)
Vasco da Gama
8.7.1497
17.5.1498
Socotra (Port.)
Ormuz (Port.)
Jaxartes (Syr Darya)
TRANS OXIANA
Oxus (Amu Darya)
FARGHANA
Samarkand
Kashgar
Balkh
Kunduz
Bamian
Kabul
KASHMIR K.
KINGDOM OF DELHI
Delhi
JAUNPUR K.
SIND K.
RAJPUTANA
MALWA K.
GUJARAT K.
Cambay
Surat
Daman (Port.)
Diu (Port.)
Bombay
BENGAL K.
Hughli (Port.)
ORISSA K.
Calcutta
Chittagong
BAHMANI K.
Goa (Port.)
VIJAYANAGAR K.
Madras
Pondicherry
Calicut
Cochin (Port.)
Colombo (Port.)
CEYLON
CHINA
Canton
Macao (Port.)
SIAM
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
Malacca (Port.)
SUMATRA
BORNEO
CELEBES
JAVA
AUSTRALIA
0°
20°
40°
60°
80°
100°
120°

CHAPTER Va

ADVENT OF THE EUROPEANS

FOREIGNERS could enter India mainly through two routes—the well-known land-route across the north-west frontier and the sea-route. The Muslims from Ghaznī and Ghūr, Samarqānd and Kābul invaded this country through the land-route. The Mughul Empire took care to maintain a large standing army to buttress its authority; but it failed to realise the importance of guarding the sea-coast by building a strong navy, which, among the Indian powers of modern times, the Marāthas alone tried to do. Evidently the Mughuls did not aspire to rule the sea, across which came to India the European trading nations, who ultimately gave a new turn to the history of this land.

India had commercial relations with the countries of the West from time immemorial. But from the seventh century A.D. her sea-borne trade passed into the hands of the Arabs, who began to dominate the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. It was from them that the enterprising merchants of Venice and Genoa purchased Indian goods. The geographical discoveries of the last quarter of the fifteenth century deeply affected the commercial relations of the different countries of the world and produced far-reaching consequences in their history. Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope, or the Stormy Cape, as he called it, in 1487; and Vasco da Gama found out a new route to India and reached the famous port of Calicut on the 27th May, 1498. "Perhaps no event during the Middle Ages had such far-reaching repercussions on the civilised world as the opening of the sea-route to India."

1. The Portuguese

The discoveries of Vasco da Gama, who received friendly treatment from the Hindu ruler of Calicut bearing the hereditary title of *Zamorin*, brought the merchants of Portugal, who had always coveted the advantages of eastern trade, into direct maritime touch with India and opened the way for their commercial relations with her. On the 9th March, 1500, Pedro Alvarez Cabral sailed

out from Lisbon to India in command of a fleet of thirteen vessels. But the Portuguese, instead of confining themselves within the limits of legitimate trade, became unduly ambitious to establish their supremacy in the eastern seas by forcibly depriving the merchants of other nations of the benefits of their commerce, and molesting them. This inevitably brought them into hostilities with the ruler of Calicut, whose prosperity was largely dependent on Arab merchants. The Portuguese on their side began to take part in the political intrigues among the States of Peninsular India and entered into alliances with the enemies of the ruler of Calicut, the chief of whom was the ruler of Cochin.

It was Alfonso de Albuquerque who laid the real foundation of Portuguese power in India. He first came to India in 1503 as the commander of a squadron, and the record of his naval activities being satisfactory, was appointed Governor of Portuguese affairs in India in 1509. In November, 1510, he captured the rich port of Goa, then belonging to the Bijāpur Sultānate, and during his rule did his best to strengthen the fortifications of the city and increase its commercial importance. With a view to securing a permanent Portuguese population, he encouraged his fellow-countrymen to marry Indian wives; but one serious drawback to his policy was his bitter persecution of the Muslims. The interests of the Portuguese were, however, faithfully served by him, and when he died in 1515 they were left as the strongest naval power in India with domination over the west coast.

A number of important Portuguese settlements were gradually established near the sea by the successors of Albuquerque. These were Diu, Damān, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay, San Thomé near Madras and Hugli in Bengal. Their authority also extended over the major part of Ceylon. But in course of time they lost most of these places with the exception of Diu, Damān and Goa, which they still retain. We have already noted how Qāsim Khān captured Hugli during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and the Marāthas captured Salsette and Bassein in A.D. 1739.

Though the earliest "intruder into the East", the Portuguese lost their influence in the sphere of Indian trade by the eighteenth century. Many of them took to robbery and piracy, though a few adopted more honourable careers. Several causes led to their decline. Firstly, their religious intolerance provoked the hostility of the Indian powers, which became too strong for them to overcome. Secondly, their clandestine practices in trade ultimately went against them. Thirdly, the discovery of Brazil drew the colonising activities of Portugal to the West. Lastly, they failed

to compete successfully with the other European Companies, who had come in their wake. These were jealous of the prosperity of Portugal due to her eastern trade and would not accept her policy of exclusion and extravagant claims, though these were based on priority of occupation and a Papal Bull.

In A.D. 1600 the English East India Company secured a royal charter granting them "the monopoly of commerce in eastern waters". The United East India Company of the Netherlands was incorporated for trading in the East by a charter granted by the Dutch States General on the 20th March, 1602, which also empowered the said Company to make war, conclude treaties, acquire territories and build fortresses. It was thus made "a great instrument of war and conquest". The Danes came in A.D. 1616. The French East India Company, sponsored by the famous French statesman Colbert and formed under State patronage in A.D. 1664, was destined to have an important career in the East. The Ostend Company, organised by the merchants of Flanders and formally chartered in A.D. 1722, had but a brief career in India. A Swedish East India Company was formed in A.D. 1731, but its trade was confined almost exclusively to China. A bitter contest among these trading companies was inevitable, as the object of their ambition was the same. Their designs of territorial expansion increased the bitterness of their commercial rivalry. There was a triangular contest during the first half of the seventeenth century—between the Portuguese and the Dutch, between the Portuguese and the English, and between the Dutch and the English. The Dutch opposition to the growth of English influence in India finally collapsed owing to the former's defeat at the battle of Bedara (Biderra) in A.D. 1759, but the Anglo-French hostility that had begun in the meanwhile continued throughout the eighteenth century.

2. The Dutch

In 1605 the Dutch captured Amboyna from the Portuguese and gradually established their influence at the cost of the latter in the Spice Islands. They conquered Jacatra and established Batavia on its ruins in 1619, blockaded Goa in 1639, captured Malacca in 1641 and got possession of the last Portuguese settlement in Ceylon in 1658. The Dutch came to the islands of Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas, attracted by the lucrative trade in pepper and spices, with which those islands abounded, so that "the Archipelago was not only the strategic and administrative centre of their system, it was also their economic centre".

Commercial interests drew the Dutch also to India, where they established factories in Gujarāt, on the Coromandel Coast and in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa, entering deep into the interior of the lower Ganges valley. The more important of their factories in India were at Pulicat (1610), Surāt (1616), Chinsurā (1653), Cāssimbāzār, Barānagore, Patna, Balāsore, Negapatam (1659) and Cochin (1663). By supplanting the Portuguese, the Dutch practically maintained a monopoly of the spice trade in the East throughout the seventeenth century. They also became the carriers of trade between India and the islands of the Far East, thus reviving a very old connection maintained in the palmy days of the Vijayanagar Empire. At Surāt the Dutch were supplied with large quantities of indigo, manufactured in Central India and the Jumnā valley, and from Bengal, Bihār, Gujarāt and Coromandel they exported raw silk, textiles, saltpetre, rice and Gangetic opium.

The Spanish and Portuguese Crowns remained united from A.D. 1580 to 1640. England concluded peace with Spain in A.D. 1604; but the English and the Portuguese became rivals of each other in the eastern trade. By allying themselves with the Shāh of Persia, the English captured Ormuz in the Persian Gulf from the Portuguese in A.D. 1622 and obtained permission to settle in Gombroon and take half the customs dues. From this time, however, Portuguese rivalry began to be less acute. The treaty of Madrid, concluded in 1630, provided for the cessation of commercial hostilities between the English and the Portuguese in the East, and in 1634 Methold, the President of the English factory at Surāt, and the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa signed a convention, which "actually guaranteed commercial inter-relations" between the two nations in India. The growth of peaceful relations between the English and the Portuguese was facilitated by the recovery in A.D. 1640 of Portugal's independence from the control of Spain, the old enemy of England. The right of the English to the eastern trade was recognised by the Portuguese in a treaty, dated July, A.D. 1654; and another treaty, concluded in A.D. 1661, secured for the Portuguese from Charles II, who received Bombay as a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the promise of English support against the Dutch in India. In fact, the English were no longer faced with bitter commercial rivalry from the Portuguese in India, who came to be too degenerate to pursue any consistent policy, though individual Portuguese traders occasionally obstructed the collection of investments by the English in their factories in the eighteenth century.

The Dutch rivalry with the English, during the seventeenth century, was more bitter than that of the Portuguese. The policy

of the Dutch in the East was influenced by two motives: one was to take revenge on Catholic Spain, the foe of their independence, and her ally Portugal, and the other was to colonise and establish settlements in the East Indies with a view to monopolising commerce in that region. They gained their first object by the gradual decline of Portuguese influence, which we have already noted. The realisation of their second object brought them into bitter competition with the English. In Europe also the relations between England and Holland had been hostile under the Stuarts and Cromwell, owing to commercial rivalry, and the French alliance and pro-Spanish policy of the Stuarts.

The naval supremacy of the Dutch and the negotiation of a twenty-one years' truce between Spain and Holland in 1609, by freeing them from the danger of war in Europe and some restrictions in the Spice Islands, encouraged the Dutch to oppose English trade in the East Indies more vigorously than before. During this period, the activities of the Dutch were mostly confined to Java and the Archipelago. However, they established themselves on the Coromandel Coast and fortified a factory at Pulicat in 1610, to provide themselves with cotton goods for which a ready market could be found in the Archipelago. Conferences held in London and at the Hague (A.D. 1611 and 1613–1615) led to an amicable settlement between the Dutch and the English. They came to terms in A.D. 1619 but hostilities were renewed after two years, and the cruel massacre of ten Englishmen and nine Japanese at Amboyna in 1623 "marked the climax of Dutch hatred" of the English in the East. Though the Dutch began to confine themselves more to the Malay Archipelago and the English to India, the former did not cease to be commercial rivals of the latter in India. During the years 1672–1674 the Dutch frequently obstructed communications between Surāt and the new English settlement of Bombay and captured three English vessels in the Bay of Bengal. In 1698 the Dutch chief of Chinsurā complained to Prince 'Azīm-us-Shān, when he visited Burdwān, that while his company paid a duty of 3½ per cent on their trade, the English paid only Rs. 3,000 per annum, and asked that the Dutch might be granted the same privilege as the English. The commercial rivalry of the Dutch and the English remained acute till A.D. 1759.

3. The English East India Company

The completion of Drake's voyage round the world in 1580, and the victory of the English over the Spanish Armada, inspired

the people of England with a spirit of daring and enterprise in different spheres of activity and encouraged some English sea-captains to undertake voyages to the eastern waters. Between 1591 and 1593 James Lancaster reached Cape Comorin and Penang; in 1596 a fleet of vessels under Benjamin Wood sailed eastwards; and in 1599 John Mildenhall, a merchant adventurer of London, came to India by the overland route and spent seven years in the East. It was on the 31st December, 1600, that the first important step towards England's commercial prosperity was taken. On that memorable day the East India Company received a charter from Queen Elizabeth granting it the monopoly of eastern trade for fifteen years. At first the Company dispatched "separate voyages", each fleet being sent by a group of subscribers, who divided among themselves the profits of their trade, and it had to encounter various difficulties. "It had to explore and map out the Indian seas and coasts, it had painfully to work out a system of commerce, to experiment with commodities and merchandise, to train and discipline a staff of servants. It had to brave or conciliate the hostility of England's hereditary Catholic enemy and her new Protestant rival. Further, it had to establish a position even at home . . . there was no active State support given to England's first essays in the East. The East India Company was cradled in the chilly but invigorating atmosphere of individualism. It had to cope with the lingering medieval prejudice against the export of bullion and a fallacious theory of foreign trade."

The early voyages of the English Company were directed to Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas in order to get a share of the spice trade. It was in 1608 that the first attempt was made to establish factories in India. The Company sent Captain Hawkins to India, and he reached the court of Jahāngīr in 1609. He was at first well received by the Mughul Emperor, who expressed his desire to permit the English to settle at Surāt, for which Hawkins had petitioned. But the hostile activities of the Portuguese, and the opposition of the Surāt merchants, led him to refuse the English captain's petition. Hawkins left Āgra in 1611 and at Surāt met three English ships under the command of Sir Henry Middleton. Middleton adopted a policy of reprisals against the Surāt merchants with regard to their Red Sea trade, which alarmed the latter and led them to admit to Surāt two English vessels under Captain Best in 1612. The force sent by the Portuguese was defeated by Best, and early in 1613 Jahāngīr issued a *firman* permitting the English to establish a factory permanently at Surāt. Soon the English Company sent an accredited ambassador

of the King of England, James I, to the Mughul court with a view to concluding a commercial treaty with the Emperor. The person chosen was Sir Thomas Roe, who was "of pregnant understanding, well spoken, learned, industrious, and of a comely personage". Roe remained constantly at Jahāngīr's court from the end of 1615 till the end of 1618, and though certain factors prevented him from concluding any definite commercial treaty with the Mughul Emperor, he succeeded in securing several privileges for the Company, particularly the permission to erect factories in certain places within the Empire. Before Roe left India in February, 1619, the English had established factories at Surāt, Āgra, Ahmadābād and Broach. All these were placed under the control of the President and Council of the Surāt factory, who had also the power to control the Company's trade with the Red Sea ports and Persia. English factories were also started at Broach and Barodā with the object of purchasing at first hand the piece-goods manufactured in the localities, and at Āgra, in order to sell broadcloth to the officers of the imperial court and to buy indigo, the best quality of which was manufactured at Biyāna. In 1668 Bombay was transferred to the East India Company by Charles II, who had got it from the Portuguese as a part of the dowry of his wife Catherine of Braganza, at an annual rental of £10. Bombay gradually grew more and more prosperous and became so important that in 1687 it superseded Surāt as the chief settlement of the English on the west coast.

On the south-eastern coast the English had established a factory at Masulipatam, the principal port of the kingdom of Golkundā, in 1611 in order to purchase the locally woven piece-goods, which they exported to Persia and Bantam. But being much troubled there by the opposition of the Dutch and the frequent demands of the local officials, they opened another factory in 1626 at Armāgāon, a few miles north of the Dutch settlement of Pulicat. Here also they were put to various inconveniences, and so turned their attention again to Masulipatam, and to their great advantage the Sultān of Golkundā granted them the "*Golden Firman*" in A.D. 1632 by which they were allowed to trade freely in the ports belonging to the kingdom of Golkundā on payment of duties worth 500 *pagodas* a year. These terms were repeated in another *firman* of A.D. 1634. But this did not relieve the English traders from the demands of local officers and they looked for a more advantageous place. In A.D. 1639 Francis Day obtained the lease of Madras from the ruler of Chandragiri, representative of the ruined Vijayanagar Empire, and built there a fortified factory which came to be known

as Fort St. George. Fort St. George soon superseded Masulipatam as headquarters of the English settlements on the Coromandel Coast.

The next stage in the growth of English influence was their expansion in the north-east. Factories had been started at Hariharpur in the Mahānadī Delta and at Balāsore in A.D. 1633. A factory was established at Hugli, under Mr. Bridgeman, in 1651, and soon others were opened at Patna and Cāssimbāzār. The principal articles of the English trade in Bengal during this period were silk, cotton piece-goods, saltpetre and sugar, but owing to the irregular private trade of the factory the Company did not derive much advantage before some time had elapsed. In 1658 all the settlements in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa, and on the Coromandel Coast, were made subordinate to Fort St. George.

Owing to various reasons, the prospects of the Company's trade at Madras and Surāt were not very bright during the first half of the seventeenth century. But its misfortunes disappeared during the second half of that century, owing to changes in the policy of the home government. The charter granted by Cromwell in 1657 gave it fresh opportunities. The thirty years following the Restoration of 1660 formed a period of expansion and prosperity. Both Charles II and James II confirmed the old privileges of the Company and extended its powers. At the same time, the establishment of a permanent joint-stock backing greatly relieved the Company of its past financial difficulties.

The Company's policy in India also changed during this period. A peaceful trading body was transformed into a power eager to establish its own position by territorial acquisitions, largely in view of the political disorders in the country. The long warfare between the imperial forces, the Marāthas and the other Deccan states, the Marātha raids on Surāt in 1664 and 1670, the weak government of the Mughul viceroys in Bengal, which became exposed to grave internal as well as external dangers, the disturbances caused by the Malabar pirates and the consequent necessity of defence made the change inevitable. Gerald Aungier, successor of Sir George Oxenden as President at Surāt and Governor of Bombay since 1669, wrote to the Court of Directors that "the times now require you to manage your general commerce with the sword in your hands". In the course of a few years the Directors approved of this change in the Company's policy and wrote to the Chief at Madras in December, 1687, "to establish such a politie of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to secure both . . . as may be the foundation

of a large, well grounded, secure English dominion in India for all time to come". Sir Josiah Child, the dominant personality in the affairs of the Company in the time of the later Stuarts, was largely responsible for this new policy, though it did not actually originate with him. In pursuance of it, in December, 1688, Sir John Child, his brother, blockaded Bombay and the Mughul ports on the western coast, seized many Mughul vessels and sent his captain to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf "to arrest the pilgrimage traffic to Mecca". But the English had underestimated the force of the Mughul Empire, which was still very strong and could be effectively exercised. Sir John Child at last appealed for pardon to Aurangzeb, who granted it (February, 1690), and also a licence for English trade when the English agreed to restore all the captured Mughul ships and to pay one-and-a-half lacs of rupees in compensation.

In Bengal, where the staples of commerce could not be purchased near the coast but had to be procured from places lying far up the waterways of the province, the Company was subject to payment of tolls at numerous customs-posts and to vexatious demands by the local officers. In 1651 Sultān Shujā issued a *firman* granting the Company the privilege of trading in return for a fixed annual payment of duties worth Rs. 3,000. Another *nishān*, granted in 1656, laid down that "the factory of the English Company be no more troubled with demands of customs for goods imported or exported either by land or by water, nor that their goods be opened and forced from them at under-rates in any places of government by which they shall pass and repass up and down the country; but that they buy and sell freely, and without impediment". But the successors of Sultān Shujā did not consider the *nishān* to be binding on them and demanded that the English, in view of their increasing trade, should pay duties similar to the other merchants. The Company procured a *firman* from Shāista Khān in 1672 granting them exemption from the payment of duties, and the Emperor Aurangzeb issued a *firman* in 1680 ordering that none should molest the Company's people for customs or obstruct their trade, and that "of the English nation, besides their usual custom of 2 per cent for their goods, more 1½ *jezia*, or poll-money, shall be taken". But in spite of these *firmans*, the Company's agents in all places—Bombay, Madras and Bengal—could not escape from the demands of the local customs-officers and their goods were occasionally seized.

The Company at last decided to protect themselves by force, for which they thought it necessary to have a fortified settlement

at Hugli. Hostilities actually broke out between the Mughuls and the English on the sack of Hugli by the latter in October, 1686. Hijli and the Mughul fortifications at Balāsore were also stormed by the English. The English were repulsed from Hugli, and abandoning it went down the river to a fever-stricken island at the mouth of the river, whence the wise English agent, Job Charnock, opened negotiations which ended in securing permission for the English to return to Sutanutī in the autumn of 1687. But hostilities were renewed in the next year when a fresh naval force was sent from London, under Captain William Heath, with orders to seize Chittāgong. The commander, however, failed in his object and then retired to Madras.

These rash and unwise actions on the part of the English stopped when the President and Council of Bombay concluded a peace with the Mughul Emperor in 1690. Job Charnock returned to Bengal in August, 1690, and established an English factory at Sutanutī. Thus was laid "the foundation of the future capital of British India, the first step in the realisation of the half-conscious prophecy of 1687". Under the orders of the Mughul Emperor, Ibrāhīm Khān, successor of Shāista Khān in the government of Bengal, issued a *firman* in February, 1691, granting the English exemption from the payment of customs-duties in return for Rs. 3,000 a year. Owing to the rebellion of Sobhā Singh, a zamindār in the district of Burdwān, the English got an excuse to fortify their new factory in 1696, and in 1698 they were granted the *zamindārī* of the three villages of Sutanutī, Kalikātā (Kalighata = Calcutta) and Govindapur on payment of Rs. 1,200 to the previous proprietors. In 1700 the English factories in Bengal were placed under the separate control of a President and Council, established in the new fortified settlement which was henceforth named Fort William, Sir Charles Eyre being the first President of Fort William. The position of the Company in its Bengal settlement was somewhat peculiar. It held Bombay on behalf of the English Crown, no Indian prince having any jurisdiction there. At Madras its powers were based on the acquiescence of the Indian rulers and also on its English charters. "In Bengal this dual source of the Company's position was much more evident." It owed its authority over the English subjects here to English laws and charters; but over the Indian inhabitants it exercised authority as a zamindār.

The prosperity of the Company under Charles II and James II roused the jealousy of its enemies who resented its monopoly of trading privileges after the Revolution of 1688, which gave power to the Whigs. The Whigs were opposed to a body of traders who

had been in alliance with the old government. They lent assistance to the interlopers, as the private traders were called. In 1694 the House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect that all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade in India unless prohibited by statute. In 1698 a Bill was passed into law establishing a new Company on the lines of a regulated Company. This new body came to be called the "General Society" and the old Company joined it as a member from 1707 in order to preserve the right of trading in India. About the same time a large number of other subscribers were incorporated into another joint-stock Company under the title of the "English Company of Merchants". In spite of financial embarrassments, the new Company became indeed a serious rival of the old one, and sent Sir William Norris as an ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb to secure trading privileges for itself. But the mission ended in failure. Under some pressure from the ministry, the two Companies resolved upon amalgamation in 1702, which came into effect under the award of the Earl of Godolphin in 1708–9. The two Companies were henceforth amalgamated under the title of "The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies" and their internecine quarrels stopped for ever. The legal monopoly of the United Company remained untouched till A.D. 1793.

The expansion of the English East India Company's trade and influence in India during the first forty years of the eighteenth century was quiet and gradual, in spite of the political disorders of the period, which only created occasional, but not very serious, hindrances for it and were easily overcome. The most important event in the history of the Company during this period was its embassy to the Mughul court in 1715, sent with a view to securing privileges throughout Mughul India and some villages round Calcutta. It was conducted from Calcutta by John Surman, assisted by Edward Stephenson. William Hamilton accompanied it as a surgeon and an Armenian named Khwāja Serhud as an interpreter. Hamilton succeeded in curing the Emperor Farrukhsiyar of a painful disease, and he, being thus pleased with the English, issued *firmans* complying with their request and directed the governors of the provinces to observe them. The privilege enjoyed by the English of trading in Bengal, free of all duties, subject to the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 per annum, was confirmed; they were permitted to rent additional territory round Calcutta; their old privilege of exemption from dues throughout the province of Hyderābād was retained, they being required to pay only the existing rent for Madras; they were exempted from the payment

of all customs and dues at Surāt hitherto paid by them, in return for an annual sum of Rs. 10,000; and the coins of the Company minted at Bombay were allowed to have currency throughout the Mughul dominions.

In Bengal, Murshid Qulī Jāfar Khān, a strong and able governor, opposed the grant of the additional villages to the English. Still, the other rights secured by the *firman* of 1716–17 greatly furthered their interests. It has been aptly described by Orme as the "Magna Charta of the Company". The trade of the Company in Bengal gradually prospered, in spite of the occasional demands and exactions of the local officials. The importance of Calcutta increased so that it came to have a population of 100,000 by A.D. 1735, and the Company's shipping at the port during the ten years following the embassy of 1715 amounted to ten thousand tons a year.

For about eighteen years after Farrukhsiyar's *firman*, the trade of the English Company on the western coast suffered from the quarrels between the Marāthas and the Portuguese, and the ravages of the Marātha sea-captains, notably Kānhojī Angria, who dominated the coast between Bombay and Goa from two strongholds, Gheria (or Vijayadrug) and Suvarndrug. During the government of Charles Boone from 1715 to 1722, a wall was built round Bombay and armed ships of the Company were increased in order to defend its factory and trade against hostile fleets. After these eighteen years, the Company's trade in Bombay began to increase, its military strength was developed and Bombay had a population of about 70,000 in A.D. 1744, though the Marātha sea-captains were not finally crushed before 1757. The English concluded a treaty with the Marāthas in 1739, and in alliance with the Peshwā, launched attacks against the Angrias. Suvarndrug was captured by Commodore James in 1755 and in 1757 Clive and Watson captured their capital, Gheria. At Madras also the English carried on a "peaceful commerce", being on "excellent terms" both with the Nawāb of the Carnatic and his overlord, the Subahdār of the Deccan. In 1717 they took possession of five towns near Madras which Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras from 1698 to 1709, had originally obtained from the Nawāb of the Carnatic in 1708, and in 1734 they also got Vepery and four other hamlets.

4. The French East India Company and French Settlements

Though "the desire for eastern traffic displayed itself at a very early period among the French", they were the last of the European powers to compete for commercial gains in the East with the other

European Companies. Nevertheless leading Frenchmen like Henry IV, Richelieu and Colbert realised the importance of Eastern commerce. At the instance of Colbert, the "Compagnie des Indes Orientales" was formed in A.D. 1664. Though created and financed by the State, the French Company's first movements were "neither well considered nor fortunate", because its energies were then frittered away in fruitless attempts to colonise Madagascar, which had already been visited by Frenchmen. But in 1667 another expedition started from France under the command of François Caron, who was accompanied by Marcara, a native of Ispahān. The first French factory in India was established by François Caron at Surāt in A.D. 1668, and Marcara succeeded in establishing another French factory at Masulipatam in 1669 by obtaining a patent from the Sultān of Golkundā. In 1672 the French seized San Thomé, close to Madras, but in the next year their admiral, De la Haye, was defeated by a combined force of the Sultān of Golkundā and the Dutch and was forced to capitulate and surrender San Thomé to the Dutch. Meanwhile, in 1673 François Martin and Bellanger de Lespinay, one of the volunteers who had accompanied Admiral De la Haye, obtained a little village from the Muslim governor of Valikondāpuram. Thus the foundation of Pondicherry was laid in a modest manner. François Martin, who took charge of this settlement from A.D. 1674, developed it into an important place, through personal courage, perseverance and tact, "amid the clash of arms and the clamour of falling kingdoms". In Bengal, Nawāb Shāista Khān granted a site to the French in 1674, on which they built the famous French factory of Chandernagore in 1690–1692.

The European rivalries between the Dutch (supported by the English) and the French adversely influenced the position of the French in India. Pondicherry was captured by the Dutch in 1693 but was handed back to the French by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. Martin, again placed in charge of this settlement, restored its prosperity so that it came to have a population of about 40,000 at the time of his death in 1706 as compared with the 22,000 of Calcutta in the same year. But the French lost their influence in other places, and their factories at Bantam, Surāt and Masulipatam were abandoned by the beginning of the eighteenth century. The resources of the French Company were practically exhausted by this time, and till 1720 it passed through very bad days, even selling its licences to others. Of the five governors of Pondicherry who held office from 1707 to 1720 none followed the strong and wise policy of Martin. But with the reconstitution of the Company, in June, 1720, as the "Perpetual Company of the

Indies", prosperity returned to it under the wise administration of Lenoir and Dumas between 1720 and 1742. The French occupied Mauritius in 1721, Māhé on the Malabar coast in 1725, and Karikal in 1739. The objects of the French, during this period, were, however, purely commercial. There "was nothing in the conduct of Lenoir or Dumas that allows us to credit the Company with political views and still less ideas of conquest; its factories were more or less fortified, but for motives of simple security against the Dutch and the English; and although it enlisted troops, it used them only for purposes of defence". After 1742 political motives began to overshadow the desire for commercial gain and Dupleix began to cherish the ambition of a French Empire in India, which being challenged by the English opened a new chapter in Indian history.

CHAPTER VI

MUGHUL ADMINISTRATION

1. Nature of the Mughul Government

THE establishment of the Mughul administration, on ideas and principles different from those of the Sultāns of Delhi, was mainly the work of Akbar. Of his two predecessors, Bābur and Humāyūn, the former had neither time nor opportunity, and the latter neither inclination nor ability, to elaborate a system of civil government. While gifted with political genius of a high order, Akbar was indebted in certain respects to the Sūr example of administrative organisation. The Mughul government was a "combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements". It was, more correctly speaking, "the Perso-Arabic system in an Indian setting". It was also essentially military in nature and every officer of the Mughul State had to be enrolled in the army list. It was necessarily a centralised autarchy, and the king's power was unlimited. His word was law, and his will none could dispute. He was the supreme authority in the State, the head of the government, the commander of the State forces, the fountain of justice, and the chief legislator. He was the Khalifah of God, required to obey the scriptures and Islamic traditions, but in practice a strong king could act in defiance of sacred law if he so liked. There was nothing like a cabinet of ministers in the modern sense of the term. The ministers could not claim to be consulted as a matter of right; it was entirely a matter of the Emperor's pleasure to accept their advice or not. Much depended, indeed, on the personality of the Emperor and his ministers. A wise ruler like Shāh Jahān wanted invariably to consult a Sa'dullah Khān, while a minister like Husain 'Ālī Khān would have little regard, even open contempt, for his crowned puppets. The first six Mughul rulers of India possessed, however, a strong commonsense, and their autocracy did not, therefore, degenerate into an unbearable tyranny trampling on the rights and customs of the people. Endowed with the spirit of "benevolent despots", these rulers worked hard for the good of their subjects, in one way or another, especially

in the regions round the central capital and the seats of viceregal governments in the provinces. But the State in those days "did not undertake any socialistic work, nor interfered with the lives of the villagers so long as there was not violent crime or defiance of royal authority in the locality". From one point of view, the enormous power of the Mughul emperors was strictly limited. Their orders could not always be easily enforced in the distant corners of the Empire, not to speak of certain hilly parts of Chota Nāgpur and the Santāl Parganās, which most probably never acknowledged their sway. When we find almost each and every Emperor issuing orders for the abolition of the same kind of taxes and cesses in the very first year of his reign, we are led to conclude that previous attempts to abolish these had proved ineffectual and inoperative. There are copious references in the records of the English factories in India to show that even in the days of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, not to speak of the reigns of their weak successors, the *subahdārs*, the provincial *diwāns*, and the customs-officers, occasionally acted contrary to the orders of the central government, mostly out of selfish motives.

2. The Nobility

Owing to several factors, the Mughul nobility was a heterogeneous body, composed of diverse elements like Turk, Tartar, Persian and Indian, Muslim and Hindu, and could not, therefore, organise itself as a powerful baronial class. Some Europeans also received titles of nobility. In theory, the nobility was not hereditary but purely official in character. A noble had only a life interest in his *jāgīr*, which escheated to the crown on his death; and the titles or emoluments could not usually be transmitted from father to son. The effect of the system of escheat was, as Sir J. N. Sarkar has observed, "most harmful". The nobles led extravagant lives and squandered away all their money in unproductive luxury during their life-time. It also "prevented India from having one of the strongest safeguards of public liberty and checks on royal autocracy, namely, an independent hereditary peerage, whose position and wealth did not depend on the king's favour in every generation, and who could, therefore, afford to be bold in their criticism of the royal caprice and their opposition to the royal tyranny".

3. Public Service and Bureaucracy

To maintain the military strength of the Empire, it was necessary for the Mughuls to employ a large number of foreign adventurers.

Though Akbar inaugurated the policy of "India for Indians" and threw open official careers to the Hindus, yet the foreign elements predominated in the Mughul public service. The general character of the public services remained unaltered during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. But deterioration in their efficiency began during the reign of the former, and became striking during the reign of his son and more so in the reign of Aurangzeb. Thus Prince Akbar wrote to Aurangzeb plainly in 1681: "The clerks and officers of state have taken to the practice of traders, and are buying posts with gold and selling them for shameful considerations. Every one who eats salt destroys the salt-cellar."

Every officer of the State held a *mansab* or official appointment of rank and profit, and, as such, was bound theoretically to supply a number of troops for the military service of the State. Thus the *mansabdārs* formed the official nobility of the country, and this system was the "army, the peerage, and the civil administration, all rolled into one". Akbar classified the office-holders into thirty-three grades, ranging from "commanders of 10" to "commanders of 10,000". Till the middle of Akbar's reign, the highest rank an ordinary officer could hold was that of a commander of 5,000; the more exalted grades between commanders of 7,000 and 10,000 were reserved for members of the royal family. But towards the end of his reign this restriction was relaxed, and, under his successors, the officers rose to much higher positions. The *mansabdārs* were directly recruited, promoted, suspended or dismissed by the Emperors. Each grade carried a definite rate of pay, out of which its holder was expected to maintain a quota of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts. But the *mansabdārs* rarely fulfilled this condition. Irvine writes that "in spite of musterings and brandings we may safely assume that very few *mansabdārs* kept up at full strength even the quota of horsemen for which they received pay". A *mansabdāri* dignity was not hereditary. The State Service was not specialised, and an officer might be entrusted at any moment with an entirely new duty. Akbar's wonderful capacity for "picking the right man for the right job" checked the evils of this system, but a deterioration set in later on with the change in the personality of the rulers.

The officers of the Mughul government received their salaries in two ways. Either they received them in cash from the State, or occasionally they were granted *jāgīrs* for a temporary period. They were not, however, given any ownership over the lands in their *jāgīrs*, but were only allowed to collect and enjoy the land revenue, equivalent to the amount of their salaries, from the

assigned tracts. "Any excess collected not only involved injustice towards the cultivators; it was a fraud against the State as well." *Jāgīrs* were frequently transferred from one *mansabdār* to another. The *jāgīr* system, however, gave some undue power and independence to the holders of *jāgīrs*; and Akbar, like Sher Shāh, was justified in trying to remunerate his officers by cash payments, and in converting *jāgīr* into *khalsā* lands, whenever possible. Whether paid in cash or in *jāgīrs*, the Mughul public servants enjoyed, as we know from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, inordinately high salaries,[1] which attracted most enterprising adventurers from Western and Central Asia. Various evils crept into the Mughul public services after the reign of Aurangzeb, if not earlier.

4. Departments of Government and Chief Officers

Though the Mughul Emperors had absolute powers, they appointed a number of officers in the different departments of the Government for the transaction of its multitudinous affairs. The chief departments of the State were: (*a*) the Imperial Household under the *Khān-i-Sāmān*, (*b*) the Exchequer under the *Diwān*, (*c*) the Military Pay and Accounts Office under the *Mīr Bakhshī*, (*d*) the Judiciary under the *Chief Qāzī*, (*e*) Religious Endowments and Charities under the Chief *Sadr* or *Sadr-us-Sudūr*, and (*f*) the Censorship of Public Morals under the *Muhtasib*. The *Diwān* or *Wazīr* was usually the highest officer in the State, being in sole charge of revenues and finance. The *Bakhshī* discharged a variety of functions. While he was the Paymaster-General of all the officers of the State, who "theoretically belonged to the military department", he was also responsible for the recruiting of the army, and for maintaining lists of *mansabdārs* and other high officials; and when preparing for a battle he presented a complete muster-roll of the army before the Emperor. The *Khān-i-Sāmān* or the Lord High Steward had charge of the whole imperial household "in reference to both great and small things". The *Muhtasibs* or Censors of Public Morals looked after the enforcement of the Prophet's commands and the laws of morality. The other officers, somewhat inferior in status to those mentioned above, were the *Mir Ātish* or *Dāroga-i-Topkhānā* (head of the artillery), the *Dāroga* of *Dāk chowkī* (head of the correspondence department),

[1] Making deductions for the monthly expenses of maintaining troops and other incidental expenses, Moreland calculates that a *mansabdār* of "5,000" received a net monthly salary of at least Rs. 18,000, one of "1,000" at least Rs. 5,000, and "a commander of 500" at least Rs. 1,000 a month. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 66 ff.

the *Dārogā* of the Mint, the *Mīr Māl* or the Lord Privy Seal, the *Mustaufī* or the Auditor-General, the *Nāzir-i-Buyutāt* or the Superintendent of the Imperial Workshop, the *Mushriff* or the Revenue Secretary, the *Mīr Bahri* or the Lord of the Admiralty, the *Mīr Barr* or the Superintendent of Forests, the *Wāqa-i-navis* or News-Reporters, the *Mīr Arz* or the officer in charge of petitions presented to the Emperor, the *Mīr Manzil* or the Quartermaster-General, and the *Mīr Tozak* or the Master of Ceremonies.

5. The Police

So far as the rural areas were concerned, the Mughuls introduced no new arrangements for the prevention and detection of crimes. These remained, as from time immemorial, under the headman of the village and his subordinate watchmen. This system, which afforded a fair degree of security in the local areas with only occasional disturbances in times of disorder, survived till the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the cities and towns, all police duties, including the task of maintaining public order and decency, were entrusted to the *Kotwāls*, whose duties, as enumerated in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, were multifarious: (i) to detect thieves, (ii) to regulate prices and check weights and measures, (iii) to keep watch at night and patrol the city, (iv) to keep up registers of houses, frequented roads, and of citizens, and watch the movements of strangers, (v) to employ spies from among the vagabonds, gather information about the affairs of the neighbouring villages, and the income and expenditure of the various classes of people, (vi) to prepare an inventory of, and take charge of, the property of deceased or missing persons who left no heirs, (vii) to prevent the slaughter of oxen, buffaloes, horse or camels, and (viii) to prevent the burning of women against their will, and circumcision below the age of twelve. Sir J. N. Sarkar believes that this long list of the *Kotwāl's* duties in the *Āīn* represents "only the ideal for the *Kotwāl*" and not "the actual state of things". But Manucci also gives from personal observation an exhaustive account of the *Kotwāl's* duties. It is, however, certain that the *Kotwāl's* main business was to preserve peace and public security in the urban areas. In the districts or *sarkārs*, law and order were maintained usually by officers like the *Faujdārs*. "The *faujdār*, as his name suggests, was only the commander of a military force stationed in the country. He had to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, take cognizance of all violent crimes, and

make demonstrations of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities, or the criminal judge, or the censor." The police arrangements were in some respects effective, though "the state of public security varied greatly from place to place and from time to time".

6. Law and Justice

Nothing like modern legislation, or a written code of laws, existed in the Mughul period. The only notable exceptions to this were the twelve ordinances of Jahāngīr and the *Fatāwa-i-'Ālamgīrī*, a digest of Muslim law prepared under Aurangzeb's supervision. The judges chiefly followed the Quranic injunctions or precepts, the *Fatāwas* or previous interpretations of the Holy Law by eminent jurists, and the *qanuns* or ordinances of the Emperors. They did not ordinarily disregard customary laws and sometimes followed principles of equity. Above all, the Emperor's interpretations prevailed, provided they did not run counter to the sacred laws.

The Mughul Emperors regarded speedy administration of justice as one of their important duties, and their officers did not enjoy any special protection in this respect under anything like Administrative Law. "If I were guilty of an unjust act," said Akbar, "I would rise in judgment against myself." Peruschi writes on the authority of Monserrate that "as to the administration of justice he is most zealous and watchful". The love of justice of the other Emperors, like Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, has been testified to by some contemporary European travellers. Though approach to the Emperor through all kinds of official obstructions was not very easy, at least two Mughul Emperors, Akbar and Jahāngīr, granted to their subjects the right of direct petitioning (which was only won in England after a hard fight). The latter allowed a chain with bells to be hung outside his palace to enable petitioners to bring their grievances to the notice of the Emperor.

The *Qāzī-ul-Qazāt* or the Chief *Qāzī* was the principal judicial officer in the realm. He appointed *Qāzīs* in every provincial capital. The *Qāzīs* made investigations into, and tried, civil as well as criminal cases of both the Hindus and the Muslims; the *Muftis* expounded Muslim Law; and the *Mīr Adls* drew up and pronounced judgments. The *Qāzīs* were expected to be "just, honest, impartial, to hold trials in the presence of the parties and at the court-house and the seat of government, not to accept presents from the people where they served, nor to attend entertainments given by anybody and everybody, and they were asked to know poverty to be their glory". But in practice they abused their authority, and, as Sir

J. N. Sarkar observes, "the *Qāzī's* department became a byword and reproach in Mughul times". There were no primary courts below those of the *Qāzīs*, and the villagers and the inhabitants of smaller towns, having no *Qāzīs* over them, settled their differences locally "by appeal to the caste courts or *panchāyets*, the arbitration of an impartial umpire (*sālis*), or by a resort to force". The *Sadr-us-sudūr* or the chief *Sadr* exercised supervision over the lands granted by the Emperors or princes to pious men, scholars and monks, and tried cases relating to these. Below him there was a local *sadr* in every province.

Above the urban and provincial courts was the Emperor himself, who, as the "Khalif of the Age", was the fountain of justice and the final court of appeal. Sometimes he acted as a court of first instance too. Fines could be imposed and severe punishments, like amputation, mutilation and whipping, could be inflicted by the courts without any reference to the Emperor, but his consent was necessary in inflicting capital punishment. There was no regular jail system, but the prisoners were confined in forts.

7. The Revenue System

The revenues of the Mughul Empire may be grouped under two heads—central or imperial and local or provincial. The local revenue, which was apparently collected and spent without reference to the finance authorities of the central government, was derived from various minor duties and taxes levied on "production and consumption, on trades and occupations, on various incidents of social life, and most of all on transport". The major sources of central revenue were land revenue, customs, mint, inheritance, plunder and indemnities, presents, monopolies and the poll-tax. Of these, land revenue formed, as in old days, the most important source of the State income.

The important revenue experiments of the Sūrs were undone in the period of confusion and disorders following the reigns of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh. But the old machinery of government and the time-honoured customs and procedures must have been inherited by Akbar, who found at his accession three kinds of land in the country—the *Khalsā* or crown-lands, the *Jāgīr* lands, enjoyed by some nobles who collected the local revenues, out of which they sent a portion to the central exchequer and kept the rest for themselves, and the *Sayūrghāl* lands, granted on free tenure. After securing his freedom from the influence of Bairam and that of the ladies of the harem, Akbar realised the importance

of reorganising the finances of his growing empire, which were in a hopelessly confused state. Thus in 1570–1571, Muzaffar Khān Turbatī, assisted by Rājā Todar Mall, prepared a revised assessment of the land revenue, "based on estimates framed by the local *Qānūngoes* and checked by ten superior *Qānūngoes* at headquarters". After Gujarāt had been conquered, Todar Mall effected there a regular survey of the land, and the assessment was made "with reference to the area and quality of the land". In 1575–1576 Akbar made a new and disastrous experiment by abolishing the old revenue areas and dividing the whole of the Empire, with the exception of the provinces of Gujarāt, Bengal and Bihār, into a large number of units, each yielding one *kror* (crore) a year, and placed over each of them an officer called the *Krori*, whose duties were to collect revenues and encourage cultivation. But the *Kroris* soon grew corrupt and their tyranny reduced the peasants to great misery. Their offices were, therefore, abolished and the old revenue divisions were restored, though the title of *Krori* continued to survive at least till the reign of Shāh Jahān.

Important revenue reforms were introduced in 1582, when Todar Mall was appointed the *Diwān-i-Ashraf*. Hitherto assessments were fixed annually on the basis of production and statistics of current prices, and the demands of the State thus varied from year to year. Todar Mall established a standard or "regulation" system of revenue-collection, the chief features of which were (i) survey and measurement of land, (ii) classification of land, (iii) fixation of rates. Lands were carefully surveyed, and for measurement the old units, whose length fluctuated with the change of season, were replaced by the *Ilāhī Gaz* or yard, which was equal to about thirty-three inches, *tanab* or tent-rope, and *jarib* of bamboos joined by iron rings, which assured a constant measure. Land was classified into four classes according to "the continuity or discontinuity of cultivation": (i) *Polaj* or land capable of being annually cultivated, (ii) *Parautī* or land kept fallow for some time to recover productive capacity, (iii) *Chachar* or land that had lain fallow for three or four years, and (iv) *Banjar* or land uncultivated for five years or longer. Only the area actually cultivated was assessed, and, in order to ascertain the average produce of land belonging to each class, the mean of the three grades into which it was divided was taken into consideration. The demand of the State was fixed at one-third of the actual produce, which the ryots could pay either in cash or in kind. The cash rates varied according to crops. This revenue system, as applied to Northern India, Gujarāt, and, with some modifications, to the

Deccan, was *rayatwārī*, that is, "the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue". In the outlying portions of the Empire, this system was not applied, but each of these was dealt with as local circumstances required.

For purposes of administration and revenue collection, the Empire was divided into *subahs*, which again were subdivided into *sarkārs*, each of which in turn comprised a number of *paraganās*. Each *paraganā* was a union of several villages. The *amalguzār* or revenue-collector in charge of a district was assisted by a large subordinate staff. Apart from the village *Muqaddam* (headman) and the village *Patwārī*, who were servants of the village community and not of the State, there were measurers and *kārkuns*, who prepared the seasonal crop statistics; the *Qānūngo*, who kept records of the revenue payable by the villages; the *Bitikchī* or accountant; and the *Potdār* or district treasurer. These officers were instructed to collect revenue with due care and caution and "not to extend the hand of demand out of season". The Emperors were for ever "issuing orders to their officers to show leniency and consideration to the peasants in collecting the revenue, to give up all *abwābs* and to relieve local distress". There are instances in the reigns of Shāh Jāhān and Aurangzeb of extortionate revenue officials and even provincial governors being dismissed on complaints being made against them by the subjects to the Emperors. Though the lower revenue officers, especially those in the outlying provinces and districts, were not above corruption and malpractices, "the highest were, on the whole, just and statesmanlike" with few exceptions.

The success or failure of the revenue system thus organised must have depended on the quality and nature of the administration at the centre, and evils could not but appear when the administrative machinery was getting out of gear in Aurangzeb's reign. But on the whole its principles were sound and "the practical instructions to the officials all that could be desired". The ryots got a certain amount of security and the fluctuations of the State revenue were prevented, or at least minimised. Further, the ryots were not evicted from their holdings for default of payment, and the "custom of payment by the division of the crop", on the basis of the actual produce of a year, was better than the modern money rent system by which one has to pay the fixed amount irrespective of the harvest of the year. The demand at the rate of one-third, though rather high, as compared with one-sixth prescribed by Hindu law and custom or with what a modern landowner gets, was

not a heavy burden on the peasants, who were compensated by the State with the abolition or remission of various cesses and taxes.

8. The Provincial Government

In 1579–1580 Akbar divided his Empire into twelve provinces, the number of which rose to fifteen[1] towards the close of his reign, to seventeen in the reign of Jahāngīr and to twenty-one in the time of Aurangzeb. "The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughul Empire was an exact miniature of the Central Government." The Governor (styled the *Sipāh Sālār*, Commander-in-Chief, or *Sāhib Subah*, Lord of the Province, or simply *Subahdār*, and officially described as the *Nāzim*) was the head of the civil as well as military administration of each *subah*. He had a staff of subordinate officers under him, like the *Diwān*, the *Bakhshī*, the *Faujdār*, the *Kotwāl*, the *Qāzī*, the *Sadr*, the *'Āmil*, the *Bitikchī*, the *Potdār* and the *Wāqa-i-navis*. The *Diwān* or revenue-chief of a province often acted as the rival of the *Subahdār*. Each was enjoined "to keep a strict watch over the other" so that none of them could grow over-powerful.

9. The Army

No large standing army was maintained by the State, but theoretically "all able-bodied citizens of the empire were potential soldiers of the imperial army". The history of the Mughul army is largely the history of the *Mansabdārī* system, the principal features of which have already been noted. Besides the *Mansabdārs*, there were the *Dākhilīs* or supplementary troopers placed under the command of *Mansabdārs* and paid by the State, and *Ahadīs* or a body of "gentleman troopers, a special class of horsemen, who were generally round the Emperor's person, and owed allegiance to no one else". The *Mansabdārī* system was not free from corruption. "False musters," writes Irvine, "were an evil from which the Mughul army suffered in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend to each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers". Steps were taken by Akbar's Government to remove these evil practices. Regulations were introduced for periodical musters, a *chihrāh* or descriptive roll of a *Mansabdār* was drawn

[1] Āgra, Allahābād, Oudh, Delhi, Lahore, Multān, Kābul, Ajmer, Bengal, Bihār, Ahmadābād, Mālwa, Berar, Khāndesh, Ahmadnagar.

up, "showing his name, his father's name, his tribe or caste, his place of origin, followed by details of his personal appearance"; and the system of branding horses, known as *Dāgh-o-mahalli* or simply *Dāgh*, was revived. But these measures could not effectively check the evils.

To express it in modern terms, the Mughul forces were composed of (i) cavalry, (ii) infantry, (iii) artillery and (iv) navy. The cavalry was the most important of all these branches. The infantry was largely composed of men drawn from ordinary townsmen and peasants; and "as a part of the fighting strength of the army it was insignificant". Guns, manufactured within the country and also imported from outside, were used in wars by Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar, but "the artillery was much more perfect and numerous in 'Ālamgīr's reign" than before. The artillery was wholly state-paid. There was nothing like any strong navy in the modern sense of the term, but Abul Fazl writes of an "Admiralty Department", the functions of which were (i) to build boats of all kinds for river transport, (ii) to fit out strong boats for transporting war-elephants, (iii) to recruit expert seamen, (iv) to supervise the rivers, and (v) to impose, collect or remit river duties and tolls A fleet of 768 armed vessels and boats was stationed at Dacca to protect the coast of Bengal against the Mugs and the Arākānese pirates. But the naval establishment of the Mughuls does not seem to have been very formidable.

The Mughul army, though not so inefficient as some writers would ask us to believe, was not, however, without certain defects. Firstly, it was not a national army, but was a mixture of diverse elements, each trying to follow its own peculiar methods and manœuvres. Thus, though its numerical strength increased as years went on, it grew cumbrous and hard to be controlled and managed. Secondly, the soldiers did not owe direct allegiance to the Emperor, but were more attached to their immediate recruiters and superiors, whose acute jealousies and bitter rivalries often destroyed the chances of success in campaigns. Lastly, the pomp and display of the Mughul army in camp, and on the march, were largely responsible for marring its efficiency. Akbar could at times depart from this practice. But generally the imperial army looked like "an unwieldy moving city" and was "encumbered with all the lavish paraphernalia of the imperial court, including a proportion of the harem and its attendants, mounted on elephants and camels, a travelling audience-hall, musicians' gallery, offices, workshops, and bazars. Elephants and camels carried the treasure; hundreds of bullock-carts bore the military stores; an

army of mules transported the imperial furniture and effects". Referring to the grand camp of the Emperor Aurangzeb at Ahmadnagar, Grant Duff comments that "it proved a serious encumbrance to the movements of his army, while the devouring expense of such establishments pressed hard on his finances, and soon crippled even the most necessary of his military and political arrangements". This sort of camp life naturally produced luxury and indiscipline in the army. The inevitable deterioration set in under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān and manifested itself fully in the time of Aurangzeb. The army became incapable of "swift action or brilliant adventure". In this respect, the then light cavalry of Shivājī, maintained by him under strict discipline, was far better than the Mughul army.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

THE real history of the people in Mughul India, that is, of their social life and economic condition, is of greater interest and importance for us to-day than mere catalogues of political events or military campaigns. The sources for studying it are indeed meagre, but valuable information can be gleaned from the accounts of contemporary European travellers and records of the European factories; and incidental references are available in contemporary historical works in Persian as well as vernacular literatures of the period.

1. Social Conditions

A. Structure of Society

Society looked like a feudal organisation with the king at its apex. Next in rank to the king were the official nobles, who enjoyed special honours and privileges, which never fell to the lot of the common people. This naturally produced a difference in their standard of living. The former rolled in wealth and comforts, while the condition of the latter was comparatively pitiable. With abundant resources at their disposal, the rich naturally indulged in luxury and intemperance, and the apprehension of escheat of the wealth and property of the nobles at death destroyed their incentive to thrift. Excessive addiction to wine and women was a very common vice among the aristocrats. We are told by Abul Fazl that the Emperor had a seraglio of 5,000 women, supervised by a separate staff of female officers. Francisco Pelsaert, the chief of the Dutch factory at Āgra in the time of Jahāngīr, observes that "the *mahals* of the rich were adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness", and he denounces their debauchery in strong terms. The food and dress of the wealthy were rich and costly. They lived in highly decorated palatial buildings and amused themselves with outdoor sports as well as indoor games.

It should be noted that the existence of an alien nobility did not usually cause any heavy drain of the country's wealth to foreign lands, as none of the class was allowed to carry it outside. The nobles originally possessed qualities which made them efficient servants of the State so long as it retained its vigour, but they began to lose their old usefulness, and grew more demoralised, with the closing years of the reign of Shāh Jahān. Further deterioration set in during the reign of Aurangzeb and in the eighteenth century. The rivalries and conspiracies of the selfish and debased nobility of the later period, besides casting a malign influence on social life, were largely responsible for the political disorders of the age.

Below the nobles, there was "a small and frugal" middle class, not given to "ostentatious expenditure" but living on a standard suited to their respective offices and professions. The merchants in general led simple and temperate lives. According to some European writers, the merchants of the western coast, having made much wealth out of their extensive commerce, lived in a comparatively rich style and indulged in luxuries. The condition of the lower orders was hard as compared with that of the two higher classes. They could have no sufficient clothing; and woollen garments and shoes were above their means. As their other demands were few, they did not suffer from want of ordinary food under normal conditions; but, in times of famine and scarcity, their miseries must have been very great. Francisco Pelsaert writes with the experience of seven years that there were in his time "three classes of people who are indeed nominally free but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery—workmen, peons or servants and shopkeepers". Their work was not voluntary, wages were low, food and houses poor, and they were subject to the oppressions of the imperial officers. The shopkeepers, though sometimes rich and respected, generally kept their wealth hidden, or, as Pelsaert writes, "they will be victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form, because informers swarm like flies round the governors and make no difference between friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour". Towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, the peasants were more harassed by the provincial governors, their condition became worse, and the evil of pauperism increased.

B. Social habits and practices

The vice of intemperance was not so common among the ordinary people as among the rich. "None of the people there," remarks Terry, "are at any time seen drunk (though they might find liquor enough to do it) but the very offal and dregs of that people, and these rarely or very seldom." They were temperate in their diet, and were civil to strangers.

Both Hindus and Muslims believed in the maxims and predictions of astrology. Prominent social practices of the period were *satī*, child-marriage, *kulinism* and the dowry-system. Akbar tried to regulate social usages in such a way as to make the consent of both the bride and the bridegroom, and the permission of the parents, necessary for marriage contracts. He also sought to check marriage before puberty by either party, marriages between near relatives, acceptance of high dowries, and polygamy. But his attempts do not seem to have been effective in practice. Social evils increased during the eighteenth century, particularly in Bengal, and they have been frequently referred to in the works of contemporary European writers like Bolts, Craufurd and Scrafton, and also in contemporary literature. The Marātha society of the time did not, however, encourage acceptance of dowries. The Peshwās exercised an effective control over the social and religious affairs of Mahārāshtra, and their marriage regulations "evinced", remarks Dr. Sen, "a liberal spirit that may be profitably imitated by their modern descendants". They were opposed to forcible marriages, but informal marriages were occasionally permitted by them if the motives of the contracting parties were correct. Widow-remarriage was prevalent among the non-Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāshtra, as also among the Jāts of the Punjab and the Jumnā valley; and polyandry was not unknown among the latter. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Rājā Rājballabh of Dacca made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce widow-remarriage. Though the women were generally "subject to the will of their masters", instances of their taking an active part in political affairs are not rare.

C. Deterioration in the eighteenth century

In general, however, we notice a regrettable deterioration in social life during the eighteenth century, which forms, from many points of view, one of the darkest periods in the history of India. A modern writer has justly remarked that by the end of this century

and the beginning of the next "in social usage, in politics, in the realm of religion and art, we had entered the zone of uncreative habit, of decadent tradition, and ceased to exercise our humanity".

One redeeming feature in this period of all-round decline was the continuity of the process of Hindu-Muslim rapprochement and amicable contact between the members of the two communities, in spite of the bitter political rivalries of several centuries. Akbar's reign is remarkably important and instructive for the existence of Hindu-Muslim harmony. Illustrations of this are not lacking even in the reign of Aurangzeb. Alāwal, a Muhammadan poet, who translated in the seventeenth century the Hindī poem *Padmāvat* into Bengali, was the author of several poems on Vaishṇava subjects. 'Abdullah Khān, one of the Sayyid brothers, observed the *Basant* and *Holī* festivals, and Sirāj-ud-daulah and Mīr Jāfar enjoyed *Holī* festivals along with their friends and relatives. It is said that on his death-bed Mīr Jāfar drank a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol of Kirīteswarī near Murshidābād. Daulat Rāo Sindhia and his officers joined Muharram processions in green dress like Muhammadans. It has been noted by a modern Indian writer on the authority of *Jām-i-Jahān Numā*, a Persian weekly of the early nineteenth century, how the Durgā Pujā was celebrated at the Delhi court so late as A.D. 1825.

2. Economic Conditions

A. Economic condition in pre-Akbarid days

We have very meagre information about the economic condition of India during the reigns of the first two Tīmūrīds. Most of the historians have questioned the accuracy of the description of Hindustān given by Bābur in his *Memoirs*. The *Humāyūn-nāmah* of Gulbadan Begam refers incidentally to the low prices prevailing in Hindustān; for example, at Amarkot, the birthplace of Akbar, the price of four goats was one rupee. The comprehensive economic reforms of Sher Shāh must have effected an improvement in the economic condition of the people in his kingdom, which was not very much disturbed at least so long as the Sūr administration retained its vigour.

B. Economic condition after the days of Akbar

So far as the economic condition of the country during the reigns of the great Mughuls, and those of the later Mughuls, is concerned, we get copious information from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and

some incidental references in some other works in Persian; from the accounts of contemporary European merchants, travellers and writers; from the records of the European factories in India; and also from contemporary Indian literature. We can only attempt here to give a brief survey of the important aspects of the economic condition of India during the centuries of Mughul rule.

C. Prosperous cities

Prosperity and plenty prevailed in the chief cities of India in the age of the great Mughuls. Writing in A.D. 1585, Fitch observed: "Āgra and Fatehpore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Āgra and Fatehpore are twelve miles, and all the way is a market of victual and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market." Terry refers to the Punjab as "a large province, and most fruitful. Lahore is the chief city thereof, built very large, and abounds both in people and riches, one of the principal cities for trade in all India". Monserrate asserted that in 1581 Lahore was "not second to any city in Europe or Asia". Burhānpur in Khāndesh was "very great, rich and full of people". Ahmadābād in Gujarāt has been described by Abul Fazl as "a noble city in a high state of prosperity", which "for the pleasantness of its climate and display of the choicest productions of the whole globe is almost unrivalled". In Eastern India there was much opulence in cities like Benares, Patna, Rājmahal, Burdwān, Huglī, Dacca and Chittāgong.

D. Communications

There was no want of communications, along roads and rivers, for the purposes of the vast mercantile traffic, though they compare unfavourably with those of the present day improved under scientific conditions. Of course, with the exception of certain highways, the roads were generally unmetalled, but the "main routes of land travel were clearly defined, in some cases by avenues of trees, and more generally by walled enclosures, known as *sarāis*, in which travellers and merchants could pass the night in comparative security". The rivers, some of which were navigable throughout the year and some through a part of it, afforded excellent means for the carriage of heavy traffic. Of course, the security of the communications depended greatly on the efficiency of the administration of the country. But even in the

eighteenth century the facility of river communication has been referred to by such writers as Dow, Rennell and Stavorinus, who had intimate knowledge of the province. There was a tradition of road-building activity on the part of the State since the early days of Indian history, which the great Sūr rulers imitated and the Mughuls also followed. A bridge was built at Jaunpur by Munīm Khān early in Akbar's reign. Jahāngīr constructed water-works at Burhānpur, and, under Shāh Jahān, 'Ālī Mardān Khān repaired or built the Rāvī canal in 1639, which benefited the people to a great extent.

E. Agriculture

The agricultural crops of the time were much the same as those of to-day. It is wrong to say that there was no localisation of crops as in the present day, for sugar was cultivated in many parts of Bengal and Bihār and was carried to other parts of India; and indigo was cultivated in certain places of Northern India. Pelsaert definitely tells us of the large-scale production and manufacture of indigo in the Jumnā valley and Central India. To meet the demands of widespread manufactures of cotton and silk goods, both cotton and silk were cultivated extensively in certain parts of India. Tobacco, introduced either late in 1604 or early in 1605, began to be cultivated by the people thereafter. Agricultural implements were also very much the same as those of the present day, and such was the case with the agricultural system with the exception of the comparative absence of artificial irrigation. The tenants were often subjected to the oppression and exactions of local officials.

F. Famines

The sufferings of the peasants knew no bounds during the frequent outbreaks of famine, caused by the failure of seasonal rains, especially because the Mughul State then made no systematic and prolonged efforts to provide relief and effected no substantial remissions in revenue collection. The little that they did was insufficient to alleviate the acute miseries of the myriads of people who died of starvation and the pestilence that closely followed it. A terrible famine broke out in 1556–1557 in the neighbourhood of Āgra and Biyāna, and Badāūnī "with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. . . . The whole country was a desert, and no husbandman remained to till the ground". Gujarāt, one of the richest

provinces in India, was stricken with famine and pestilence in 1573–1574, so that "the inhabitants, rich and poor, fled from the country and were scattered abroad". The country was so greatly affected by the horrors of a severe famine lasting from 1594 to 1598 that "men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies and no assistance could be rendered for their removal". Akbar made an attempt to relieve the distress of the people by placing Shaikh Farid of Bukhārā, a naturally kind-hearted man, in charge of relief measures. But the miseries of the people, due to this catastrophic visitation, were too appalling to be removed by such steps. An equally horrible famine devastated the Deccan and Gujarāt in 1630–1632. The horrors of this calamity were so great that, as 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, the official historian of the reign of Shāh Jahān, writes, "men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love". A Dutch merchant, who witnessed the calamity, notes that "men lying in the street, not yet dead, were cut up by others, and men fed on living men, so that even in the streets, and still more on road journeys, men ran great danger of being murdered or eaten". Shāh Jahān "opened a few soup-kitchens", distributed 1½ lacs of rupees in charity and remitted one-eleventh of the land-revenue assessment; but this could not suffice to mitigate the sufferings of the starving people. There were occasional outbreaks of famine during the succeeding years till the close of Aurangzeb's reign, but none was so severe in nature as that of 1630–1632.

G. Industry and Crafts

One of the most important factors in the economic history of India during the period under review was the extensive and varied industrial activity of the people, which besides supplying the needs of the local aristocracy and merchants could meet the demands of traders coming from Europe and other parts of Asia. By far the most important industry in India during this period was the manufacture of cotton cloth. The principal centres of cotton manufacture were distributed throughout the country, as, for example, at Patan in Gujarāt, Burhānpur in Khāndesh, Jaunpur, Benares, Patna and some other places in the United Provinces and Bihār, and many cities and villages in Orissa and Bengal. The whole country from Orissa to East Bengal looked like a big cotton factory, and the Dacca district was specially reputed for its delicate muslin fabrics, "the best and finest cloth made of cotton" that was in all India. Pelsaert notes that at Chābāspur and Sonārgāon in

East Bengal "all live by the weaving industry and the produce has the highest reputation and quality". Bernier observes: "There is in *Bengale* such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the Kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindoustan or the Empire of the *Great Mogul* only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe." The dyeing industry, too, was in a flourishing condition. Terry tells us that coarser cotton cloths were either dyed or printed with a "variety of well-shaped and well-coloured flowers or figures, which are so fixed in the cloth that no water can wash them out". Silk-weaving, limited in scope as compared with cotton manufacture, was also an important industry of a section of the people. Abul Fazl writes that it received a considerable impetus in the reign of Akbar due to the imperial patronage. Bengal was the premier centre of silk production and manufacture and supplied the demands of the Indian and European merchants from other parts of India, though silk-weaving was practised in Lahore, Āgra, Fathpur Sīkrī and Gujarāt. Moreland writes on the authority of Tavernier that, about the middle of the seventeenth century, the total production of silk in Bengal was "about 2½ million pounds out of which one million pounds were worked up locally, ¾ million were exported raw by the Dutch and ¾ million distributed over India, most of it going to Gujarāt, but some being taken by merchants from Central Asia". Shawl and carpet-weaving industries flourished under the patronage of Akbar; the former woven mainly from hair, having originated from Kāshmīr, was manufactured also at Lahore, and the latter at Lahore and Āgra. Woollen goods, chiefly coarse blankets, were also woven. Though India had lost her old vigorous maritime activity, the ship-building industry did not die out at this time, and we have references to it from contemporary literature. Saltpetre, used chiefly as an ingredient for gunpowder in India and also exported outside by the Dutch and English traders, was manufactured in widely distributed parts of India during the seventeenth century, particularly in Peninsular India and the Bihār section of the Indo-Gangetic region. Bihār henceforth enjoyed a special reputation for the manufacture of this article till the first half of the nineteenth century, and it was in high demand by the Europeans for use in wars in their countries. Besides these major industries, we have testimony regarding various crafts during the Mughul period. Edward Terry noticed that "many curious boxes, trunks, standishes (pen-cases), carpets, with other excellent manufactures, may be there had". Pelsaert also writes that in Sind "ornamental disks, draught-

boards, writing-cases, and similar goods are manufactured locally in large quantities; they are pretty, inlaid with ivory and ebony, and used to be exported in large quantities from Goa, and the coast towns". Though the State encouraged manufactures, the weavers were directly financed in most cases by middlemen, who must have exploited them greatly. Further, as both Bernier and Pelsaert tell us, they suffered from harsh treatment at the hands of the nobles and officers, who forced them to sell goods at low. prices and exacted from them forbidden *abwābs*. This deprived the weavers and craftsmen of the benefit of economic profit from their occupations, though the taste of the nobles for high-class manufactures kept up the tradition of their quality.

H. Prices

We learn from Abul Fazl, and some other writers, that the prices of articles, especially those of common consumption like rice, vegetables, spices, meat, livestock and milk, were very low Edward Terry observes that "the plenty of provisions was very great throughout the whole country; . . . and everyone there may eat bread without scarceness". Smith writes that "the hired landless labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahāngīr probably had more to eat than he has now", but Moreland is of opinion that "speaking generally the masses lived on the same economic plane as now". It is certain that there was no golden age of opulence for the common people under the Mughuls, because though the prices of articles were cheap, their average income was proportionately low or perhaps lower. They did not, however, grovel in misery and smart under discontent, as their needs were few and the problems of life were not so complicated as those of the present day.

I. Mints and Currency

Akbar, like Sher Shāh, tried to regulate the currency of the State. Towards the end of 1577 he appointed Khwāja 'Abdus Samād of Shīrāz master of the imperial mint at Delhi, and one important officer was placed over each of the chief provincial mints in Bengal, Lahore, Jaunpur, Ahmadābād and Patna. During the reign of Shāh Jahān, one of the most important mints was at Surāt. Akbar issued gold, silver and copper coins, the first having no less than twenty-six varieties of different weights and value. In Akbar's time, the silver rupee of about 175 grains was equivalent

in value to 2*s*. 3*d*. sterling. Akbar also issued a square silver rupee known as the *jalālī*. As in Sher Shāh's currency, the chief copper coin of Akbar's time was the *dām*, also called *paisā* or *fulūs*, which weighed 323·5 grains, formed the ready money for both the rich and the poor, and was divided into twenty-five parts, known as *jītals*, for purposes of account. Mercantile affairs of the Empire during the reigns of Akbar and his successors were transacted in round gold *mohurs*, rupees and *dāms*. The coins of the Mughul State, especially those of Akbar, "were excellent in respect of purity of metal, fullness of weight, and artistic execution". The rupee was equivalent in value to forty *dāms* up to 1616 and thirty *dāms*, or a little more or less, from 1627 onwards. But there was no great alteration in currency after Akbar, though in 1659 the English merchants wrote to the authorities in England that "the new king, Oran Zeeb (Aurangzeb), hath raised his coine (silver) to $\frac{5}{8}$ per cent finer than formerly; which hath caused much trouble and contention between the merchants of Surat and Governor".

J. Foreign Trade

India had an active and considerable foreign trade, during the greater part of the Mughul period, with different countries of Asia and Europe. The chief imports of the country were bullion, raw silk, horses, metals, ivory, coral, amber, precious stones, velvets, brocades, broadcloth, perfumes, drugs, Chinese porcelain and African slaves, and her exports were various textiles, pepper, indigo, opium and other drugs, and miscellaneous goods. There were two main land routes for export trade on the north-west—from Lahore to Kābul and from Multān to Qandahār, while there were a few more in other parts. But the traffic along these routes was restricted and insecure. The sea and the rivers were more advantageous for commercial purposes. The chief ports of India were Lahorī Bandar in Sind; the group of Gujarāt ports like Surāt, Broach and Cambay; Bassein; Chaul; Dabul (modern Dabhol) in the Ratnagiri district; Goa and Bhatkal; Malābār ports, the most important of which were Calicut and Cochin; Negapatam, Masulipatam and a few minor ones on the east coast; and Sātgāon, Srīpur, Chittāgong and Sonārgāon in Bengal. The customs duties, fixed by the State, were not very high; for example, at Surāt these were $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all imports and exports of goods, and 2 per cent on money either gold or silver. No merchant was allowed to "carry any quantity of silver" out of the country. The important feature of the trade of India from the reign of Akbar

was the commercial activity of the English and the Dutch, who gradually established factories in widely distributed centres. As the demand for the costly European goods was confined to the wealthy, the European merchants had to import bullion from home to purchase Indian commodities in spite of strong criticism in England against this practice. Moreland's contention that the European traders in India during the Mughul period had not "matters all their own way" is supported by numerous references in the factory records of the time. While they had to experience difficulty in dealing with Indian merchants and brokers, who were "generally subtle and clever", and with commercial monopolies, the chief obstacle in their way was the interference of the local governors and other high officers. As an instance, we may note the evidence of an English letter of 1659 to the effect that Mīr Jumla had caused the doors of the English factory at Cāssimbāzār to be closed, and had forbidden anybody to trade with the English, until they had paid him a formal visit. The European traders spared no pains to humour and satisfy these officers in a variety of ways; sometimes they could gain their objects and sometimes they were disillusioned.

K. Economic Deterioration after the Reign of Aurangzeb

With the closing years of the reign of Aurangzeb, the economic prosperity of India deteriorated as a natural sequel to the disappearance of peace and political order. The incessant wars of the reign, bankruptcy of the administration and exhaustion of the exchequer, made maintenance of peace and order impossible; and consequently agriculture, industries, and trade were so badly affected that for some time trade came almost to a standstill. During the years 1690–1698, the English could not procure sufficient cloths for their shipping. "Thus ensued," observes the historian of Aurangzeb, "a great economic impoverishment of India—not only a decrease of the 'national stock', but also a rapid lowering of mechanical skill and standard of civilisation, a disappearance of art and culture over wide tracts of the country." Though comparatively free from wars, Bengal was put to a great economic strain as the revenues of the *subah* financed the Deccan wars of Aurangzeb and were sorely tapped by the rapidly declining Mughul Empire.

The economic decline of the country began much earlier than 1757, but a number of causes accelerated it, especially in Bengal, during the eighteenth century, which is indeed the "darkest age" in the economic history of India. The weakness of the central

government, court revolutions and conspiracies, the terrible Persian inroad of 1738–1739, the ravages committed by the Marāthas, the Himālayan tribes, the Mugs and the Portuguese pirates, the abuse of *dastaks* and other trade privileges by the servants, agents and *gomastās* of the English Company in their *private trade*, the Company's monopoly of some of the articles of prime necessity like salt, betelnut and tobacco, the oppression of merchants and weavers for the sake of a rich return on the investments of the Company, the huge drain of wealth out of the country since 1757, the oppressive revenue-farming system, and currency disorders—all combined to bring about the economic ruin of the country. To add to these, the gradual supplanting of the Nawāb's government by the East India Company, and the consequent disbandment of armies and disestablishment of courts and native secretariats, threw many people out of employment, who joined the ranks of the professional robbers and criminal tribes, and produced general lawlessness and insecurity during the post-Plassey period. In May, 1765, the Select Committee beheld Bengal as a "presidency divided, headstrong and licentious, a government without nerves, a treasury without money, and service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit . . . amidst a general stagnation of useful industry and of licensed commerce, individuals were accumulating immense riches, which they had ravished from the insulted prince and helpless people, who groaned under the united pressure of discontent, poverty and oppression".[1] The dual government of Clive and his two inefficient successors, Verelst and Cartier, made confusion worse confounded, and the terrible famine of 1770 filled the cup of popular misery. After 1772, when the Company's government decided "to stand forth as the Diwān", attempts were made by Warren Hastings and Cornwallis to remove some of these evils, but many years more were to elapse before a new order could be brought into existence.

[1] Letter from the Select Committee in Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 19th February, 1767. *Vide* Verelst, *View of Bengal*, Appendix, p. 471.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND ART

1. Education and Literature

In Mughul India there was nothing like the modern system of education established and maintained by the State. But primary and secondary education of some sort existed. The rulers themselves, as well as many of the grandees, encouraged such education by grants of lands or money to mosques, monasteries and individual saints and scholars. Thus almost every mosque had a *maktab* attached to it, where the boys and girls of the neighbourhood received elementary education. Hindu Sanskritic and vernacular schools also continued to function for the benefit of students in the urban as well as rural areas.

The Mughul rulers of India were patrons of education. It is stated, on the authority of the *Tawārīkh* of Sayyid Maqbar 'Ālī, a minister of Bābur, that one of the duties of the Public Works Department (*Shuhrat-i-Ām*) of that ruler's time was the building of schools and colleges. Humāyūn, though indolent and addicted to opium, had a passion for study, his favourite subjects being geography and astronomy; and his fondness for books was so great that he always "carried a select library with him". He caused a *madrāsā* to be established at Delhi and changed the pleasure-house built by Sher Shāh in the *Purāna Qil'ā* into a library. "Akbar's reign marks a new epoch for the system introduced for imparting education in schools and colleges". He built colleges at Fathpur Sīkrī, Āgra and other places. With a view to improving the state of Muslim education, he effected certain changes in its curriculum, which it would be unreasonable to say produced no effect at all. As a matter of fact, Abul Fazl, referring to its good results, writes that "all nations have schools for the education of youths; but Hindustān is particularly famous for its seminaries". Prompted by his policy of religious toleration, Akbar arranged in later years for the education of Hindus in *madrāsās*. Jahāngīr, possessed of some literary taste and well-read in Persian as well as Turkī, issued a regulation to the effect that on the death of a

rich man or traveller without any heir, his property would escheat to the crown and be utilised for building and repairing *madrāsās*, monasteries, etc. It is recorded in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Jān-Jahān* that, soon after his accession to the throne, Jahāngīr "repaired even these *madrāsās* that had for thirty years been the dwelling-places of birds and beasts, and filled them with students and professors". Shāh Jahān, though more interested in magnificent buildings than in anything else, was educated in his early youth in Turkī, spent a part of the night in his own studies, and encouraged learning by granting rewards and stipends to scholars. He founded one college at Delhi and repaired the college named *Dār-ul-Baqā* (Abode of Eternity), which had been almost in ruins. In Dārā Shukoh the Mughul imperial family possessed one of the greatest scholars that India has ever produced. Well-versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, he was the author of some famous works, including Persian translations of the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavat Gītā* and the *Yoga Vāśishṭha Rāmāyaṇa*; a calendar of Muslim saints; and several works on Sūfī philosophy. Looking at the grave of this unlucky person, Sir William Sleeman rightly thought that had he lived to occupy the throne, the nature of education, and therewith the destiny of India, would have been different. Aurangzeb, though highly educated, did nothing substantial to promote learning in general, though he extended every encouragement to Muslim education, and founded, according to Keene, "numerous colleges and schools".

Female education of some sort existed during the Mughul period. The daughters of the imperial household, and of rich nobles, were given tuition in their houses, and we may assume that the daughters of the middle-class people among the Hindus received primary education along with the boys in the schools and that some of them were conversant with religious literature. The Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission rightly observed in September, 1929, that there is "nothing inherent either in the Hindu or in the Muslim religion which militates against the education of women. In fact, there were in India even in early days many examples of women possessing wide knowledge, particularly of sacred and classical literature". In Akbar's time "regular training was given to the ladies of the royal household". Some of the ladies so instructed distinguished themselves in the sphere of literature. Thus Bābur's daughter, Gulbadan Begam, authoress of the *Humāyūnnāmāh*, Humāyūn's niece, Salimā Sultānā, authoress of several Persian poems, Nūr Jahān, Mumtāz Mahal, Jahānārā Begam and Zeb-un-Nisā were highly educated ladies, well-read

in Persian and Arabic literature. Besides being a fine Arabic and Persian scholar, Zeb-un-Nisā was an expert in calligraphy and had a rich library.

As we have already noted, the Tīmūrīd rulers of India were patrons of literature and gave a considerable impetus to its development in different branches. Many scholars flourished and wrote interesting and important works under the patronage of Akbar. One of Akbar's contemporaries, Mādhavāchārya, a Bengali poet of Triveṇī and author of *Chandī-mangal*, bestows high praise on the Emperor as a patron of letters.

The Persian literature of Akbar's reign may be considered under three heads: (i) historical works, (ii) translations, and (iii) poetry and verse. The well-known historical works of the reign are the *Ta'rīkh-i-'Alfi* of Mullā Dāūd, the *'Āīn-i-Akbarī* and *Akbarnāmāh* of Abul Fazl, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* of Badāūnī, the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, the *Akbarnāmāh* of Faizī Sarhindī, and the *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī* of 'Abdul Bāqī, compiled under the patronage of 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān. The most accomplished writer (in Persian) of the reign was Abul Fazl, a man of letters, a poet, an essayist, a critic, and a historian. By order of the Emperor, many books in Sanskrit and other languages were translated into Persian. Different sections of the *Mahābhārata* were translated into that language by several Muslim scholars and were compiled under the title of *Razm-Nāmāh*. After labouring for four years, Badāūnī completed the translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in A.D. 1589. Hājī Ibrāhīm Sarhindī translated into Persian the *Atharva Veda*; Faizī the *Lilābatī*, a work on mathematics; Mukammal Khān Gujarātī the *Tajak*, a treatise on astronomy; 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān the *Wāqiāt-i-Bāburī*; and Maulānā Shāh Muhammad Shāhābādī translated the *History of Kāshmīr*. Some Greek and Arabic works were also translated into Persian. A number of famous poets or versifiers produced works of merit under the patronage of Akbar. The most famous among the verse-writers was Ghizalī. Next in importance to him was Faizī, a brother of Abul Fazl. Other prominent poets were Muhammad Husain Nazirī of Nishāpur, who wrote *ghazals* of great merit, and Sayyid Jamāluddīn Urfi of Shirāj, the most famous writer of *Qasidās* in his days.

Jahāngīr, possessed of an excellent literary taste, also extended his patronage to scholars. His autobiography is second only to that of Bābur in matter and style. Among the learned men who adorned his court, of whom the *Iqbālnāmāh-i-Jahāngīrī* has given a comprehensive list, we may mention here the names of Ghiyās

Beg, Naqib Khān, Mu'tamid Khān, Niāmatullah and 'Abdul Haqq Dihlawī. Some historical works were written during Jahāngīr's reign, the most important of these being the *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngīrī*, the *Iqbālnāmah-i-Jahāngīrī* and the *Zubd-ut-Tawārīkh*. Shāh Jahān followed his predecessors in patronising learned men. Besides many poets and theologians, there flourished in his court some famous writers of history like 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, author of the *Pādshāh-nāmāh*, Amīnāī Qazwīnī, author of another *Pādshāhnāmāh*, Ināyat Khān, author of the *Shāh-Jahānnāmāh*, and Muhammad Sālih, author of *'Amal-i-Sālih*, all of whom are important authorities on the history of Shāh Jahān's reign. The scholarly works of Prince Dārā Shukoh, to which reference has already been made, are masterpieces of Persian literature. A zealous Sunnī, Aurangzeb was a critical scholar of Muslim theology and jurisprudence. He had no taste for poetry. Though opposed to the writing of histories of his reign, so that the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb* of Khāfī Khān had to be written in secrecy, there are some well-known works of this kind, such as the *'Ālamgīrnāmāh* by Mīrzā Muhammad Kāzim, the *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* of Muhammad Sāqī, the *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh* of Sujan Rāi Khatri, the *Nushka-i-Dilkushā* of Bhīmsen and the *Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī* of Ishwar Dās.

The peace and order secured by Akbar, and the cosmopolitan ideas of the religious movements of the period, preached by a band of saintly teachers in a language "understanded of the people", stimulated the genius of the latter, which unfolded itself in manifold petals. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries consequently became "the Augustan age of Hindustani literature". The first writer of note after 1526 was Malik Muhammad Jayasī, who in 1540 wrote "the fine philosophic epic entitled the *Padmāvat*, which gives the story of Padminī, the queen of Mewār, in an allegorical setting". Akbar's keen interest in, and patronage of, Hindī poetry gave a great stimulus to Hindī literature. Among the courtiers of the Emperor, Bīrbal, who received from him the title of Kavi Priya, was a famous poet. Rājā Mān Singh also wrote verses in Hindi and was a patron of learning. The most distinguished writer among Akbar's ministers was 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, whose *dohās* are even now read with interest and admiration all over Northern India. Narahari, whom the Emperor gave the title of Mahāpātra, Harināth and Ganj were also noted writers of his court.

The greater part of the poetical literature of the time was religious, marked by an exposition of either Kṛishṇa worship or the Rāma cult. Many writers of the former faith flourished in the Brajabhūmi, corresponding roughly to the Jumnā valley, where

it developed remarkably. Among the eight disciples of Vallabhāchārya and his son Bithal Nāth, grouped under the name of "*Astachāp*", the most notable was Surdās, "the blind bard of Āgra", who, writing in *Brajabhāshā*, described in his *Sursāgar* the sports of Kṛishṇa's early life, and composed many verses on the charm of Kṛishṇa and his beloved Rādhā. The other important poets of this school were Nand Dās, author of the *Rās-panchadhyāyī*, Vithal Nāth, author of the *Chaurāsī Vaishnava ki vārtā* in prose, Paramānanda Dās, Kumbhan Dās, and Ras Khān (a Muslim disciple of Vitchal Nāth), author of *Premavārtikā*. Among the writers of the Rāma cult, the most illustrious was Tulsī Dās (A.D. 1532–1623), who lived in Benares "unapproachable and alone in his niche in the temple of Fame". He was not merely a poet of a high order, but a spiritual *teacher* of the people of Hindustān, where his name has become a household word and his memory is worshipped by millions. The most famous of his works, known as *Rāmcharitamānasa*, or "The Pool of Rāma's Life", has been justly described by Sir George Grierson as "the one Bible of a hundred millions of people" of Hindustān. Growse also observed in his translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsī Dās that "his book is in every one's hands, from the court to the cottage, and is read and heard and appreciated alike by every class of the Hindu community, whether high or low, rich or poor, young or old". This period was also marked by "the first attempts to systematise the art of poetry itself", made by writers like Keshava Dās (A.D. 1580), a Sāndhya Brāhmaṇa of Orchā, Sundar Senāpati and the Tripāthī brothers, who flourished during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

In Bengal, this period was remarkable for a brilliant outburst of the Vaishṇava literature. Its various branches, such as the *Karchās* or notes, the *padas* and songs, and the biographies of Chaitanya Deva, have not only saturated the minds of the people of Bengal with feelings of love and liberalism, but have also survived as a mirror of the social life of the province during that age. The most prominent Vaishṇava writers were Kṛishṇadās Kavirāj (born in A.D. 1517 of a Vaidya family of Jhāmālpur in Burdwān), the author of the most important biography of Chaitanya, bearing the title of *Chaitanyacharitāmitra*; Brindāvan Dās (born in A.D. 1507), the author of *Chaitanya Bhāgavata*, which besides being a standard work on the life of Chaitanya Deva, is a store-house of information concerning the Bengali society of his time; Jayānanda (born in A.D. 1513), the author of *Chaitanya Mangal*, a biographical work giving some fresh information about Chaitanya Deva's life; Trilochan Dās (born in A.D. 1523 at Kowgrām, a village situated

thirty miles to the north of Burdwān), the author of a very popular biography of Chaitanya Deva also known as *Chaitanya Mangal*; and Narahari Chakravarty, the author of *Bhaktiratnākar*, a voluminous biography of Chaitanya Deva, written in fifteen chapters and considered to be next in importance only to the work of Kṛishṇadās Kavirāj. This period also saw the production of numerous translations of the great epics and the *Bhāgavata*, and books in praise of Chandī Devī and Manasā Devī. The most important of these works were the *Mahābhārata* of Kāsīrām Dās and the *Kavikankan Chandī* of Mukundarām Chakravarti, which enjoys to this day as much popularity in Bengal as the famous book of Tulsī Das in upper India. Mukundarām's work depicts a graphic picture of the social and economic conditions of the people of Bengal of his time, and it is for this that Prof. Cowell has described him as "the Crabbe of Bengal", and Dr. Grierson considers his poetry "as coming from the heart, and not from the school, and as full of passages adorned with true poetry and descriptive power".

The Emperors' fondness for books led to the foundation of libraries, which were stocked with numerous valuable manuscript works. Akbar's library had enormous collections, which were properly classified under different sections. The art of calligraphy reached a high state of excellence. Among the famous penmen of Akbar's court, of whom the *'Āīn-i-Akbarī* has preserved a list, the most distinguished was Muhammad Husain of Kāshmīr, who got the title of *Zarrinqalam* (Gold-pen).

The growth of Hindī literature received a setback during the reign of Aurangzeb, owing to the stoppage of court patronage. Not much Urdu poetry also was written in Northern India during this period; but some famous writers of Urdu verse flourished in the Deccan.

Literary activity did not entirely cease even in the troubled days of later Mughul rule. Men of letters were patronised by Emperors like Bahādur Shāh and Muhammad Shāh, *subahdārs* like Murshid Qulī Jāfar Khān and 'Ālīvardī Khān, and zamindārs like Rājā Kṛishṇachandra of Nadiā, Asadullāh of Bīrbhūm and some others. The literature of this period, with the exception of the devotional songs of Rāmprasād, was often of a low tone and a vitiated taste. Female education, both among the Hindus and the Muslims, was not unknown to the age. The two daughters of Jan Muhammad, a converted Hindu and father of the well-known Kokī Jiu, were "sent to school and attained some proficiency in letters". Kokī Jiu "excelled her brothers in handwriting and composition". In

Bengal, we find several instances of educated ladies; for example, the wives of Rājā Navskrishṇa of Sobhābāzār (in Calcutta) were famous for their capacity to read, and Ānandamayī of East Bengal was a poetess of no mean repute.

2. Art and Architecture

A. Architecture

As in literature and religion, so in art and architecture, the Mughul period was not entirely an age of innovation and renaissance, but of a continuation and culmination of processes that had their beginnings in the later Turko-Afghān period. In fact, the art and architecture of the period after 1526, as also of the preceding period, represent a happy mingling of Muslim and Hindu art traditions and elements.

With the exception of Aurangzeb, whose puritanism could not reconcile itself with patronage of art, all the early Mughul rulers of India were great builders. Brief though his Indian reign was, Bābur could make time to criticise in his *Memoirs* the art of building in Hindustān and think of constructing edifices. He is said to have invited from Constantinople pupils of the famous Albanian architect, Sinān, to work on mosques and other monuments in India. "It is, however, very unlikely," remarks Mr. Percy Brown, "that this proposal ever came to anything, because had any member of this famous school taken service under the Mughuls, traces of the influence of the Byzantine style would be observable. But there is none. . . ." Bābur employed Indian stone-masons to construct his buildings. He himself states in his *Memoirs* that "680 men worked daily on his buildings at Āgra, and that nearly 1,500 were employed daily on his buildings at Sīkrī, Biyāna, Dholpur, Gwālior and Kiul". The larger edifices of Bābur have entirely disappeared. Three minor ones have survived, one of which is a commemorative mosque in the Kābulī Bāg at Pānīpat (1526), another the *Jāmi' Masjid* at Sambhal (1526) in Rohilkhand, and the third a mosque within the old Lodī fort at Āgra. Of the reign of the unlucky emperor Humāyūn, only two structures remain in a semi-dilapidated condition, one mosque at Āgra, and the other a massive well-proportioned mosque at Fathbād in the Hissār district of the Punjab, built about A.D. 1540 with enamelled tile decoration in the Persian manner. It should be noted here that this "Persian" or rather "Mongol" trait was not brought to India for the first time by Humāyūn, but had already been present in

the Bahmanī kingdom in the later half of the fifteenth century. The short reign of the Indo-Afghān revivalist Sher Shāh is a period of transition in the history of Indian architecture. The two remaining gateways of his projected walled capital at Delhi, which could not be completed owing to his untimely death, and the citadel known as the *Purāna Qil'ā*, exhibit "a more refined and artistically ornate type of edifice than had prevailed for some time". The mosque called the *Qil'a-i-Kuhna Masjid,* built in 1545 within the walls, deserves a high place among the buildings of Northern



SHER SHĀH'S MAUSOLEUM, SASARĀM

India for its brilliant architectural qualities. Sher Shāh's mausoleum, built on a high plinth in the midst of a lake at Sasarām in the Shāhābād district of Bihār, is a marvel of Indo-Moslem architecture, both from the standpoint of design and dignity, and shows a happy combination of Hindu and Muslim architectural ideas. Thus not only in government, but also in culture and art, the great Afghān prepared the way for the great Mughul, Akbar.

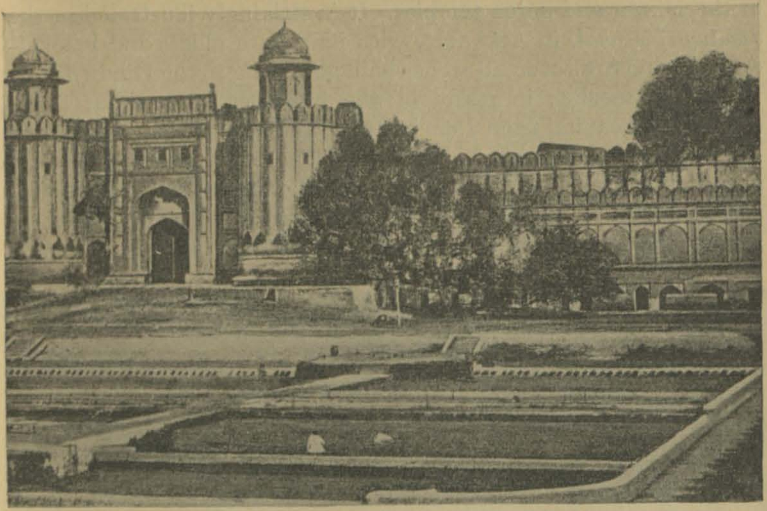
Akbar's reign saw a remarkable development of architecture. With his usual thoroughness, the Emperor mastered every detail of the art; and, with a liberal and synthetic mind he supplied himself with artistic ideas from different sources, which were

given a practical shape by the expert craftsmen he gathered around him. Abul Fazl justly observes that his sovereign "planned splendid edifices and dressed the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay". Fergusson aptly remarked that Fathpur Sīkrī "was a reflex of the mind of a great man". Akbar's activities were not confined only to the great

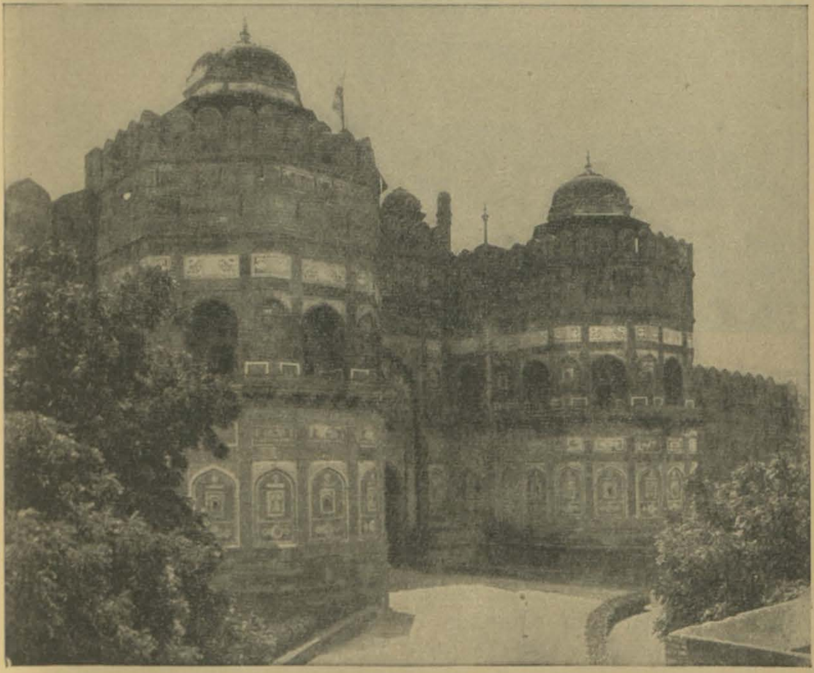


CARVED PILLARS IN SULTĀNA'S HOUSE, FATHPUR SĪKRĪ

masterpieces of architecture; but he also built a number of forts, villas, towers, *sarāis*, schools, tanks and wells. While still adhering to Persian ideas, which he inherited from his mother, born of a Persian Shaikh family of Jām, his tolerance of the Hindus, sympathy with their culture, and the policy of winning them over to his cause, led him to use Hindu styles of architecture in many of his buildings, the decorative features of which are copies of those found

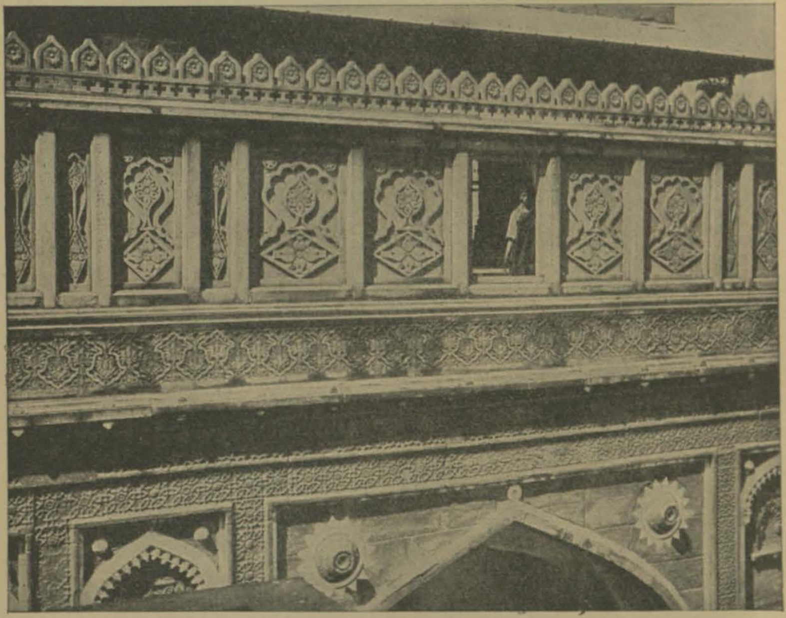


LAHORE FORT



DELHI GATE, ÁGRA FORT

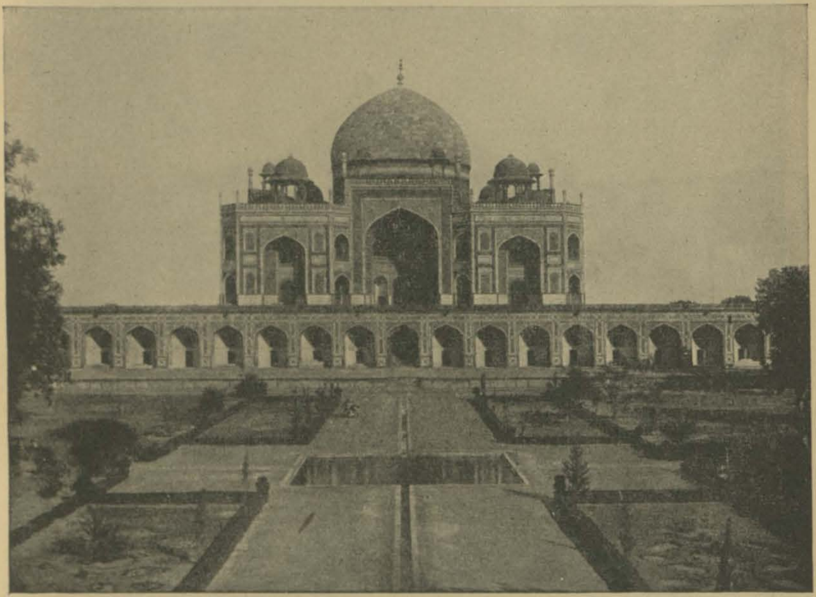
in the Hindu and Jaina temples. It is strikingly illustrated in the *Jahāngīrī Mahal*, in Āgra fort, with its square pillars and bracket-capitals, and rows of small arches built according to the Hindu design without voussoirs; in many of the buildings of Fathpur Sīkrī, the imperial capital from 1569 to 1584; and also in the Lahore fort. Even in the famous mausoleum of Humāyūn at Old Delhi, completed early in A.D. 1569, which is usually considered to have displayed influences of Persian art, the ground-plan of the tomb is Indian, the free use of white marble in the outward appearance of



JAHĀNGĪRĪ MAHAL, ĀGRA FORT

the edifice is Indian, and the coloured tile decoration, used so much by Persian builders, is absent. The most magnificent of the Emperor's buildings at Fathpur Sīkrī are Jodh Bāī's palace and two other residential buildings, said to have been constructed to accommodate his queens; the *Diwān-i-'Am* or the Emperor's office, of Hindu design with a projecting veranda roof over a colonnade; the wonderful *Diwān-i-Khās* or Hall of private audience, of distinctly Indian character in planning, construction and ornament; the marble mosque known as the *Jāmi' Masjid*, described by Fergusson as "a romance in stone"; the *Buland Darwāza* or the massive

triumphal archway at the southern gate of the mosque, built of marble and sandstone to commemorate Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt; and the pyramidal structure in five storeys known as the *Panch Mahal*, showing continuation of the plan of the Indian Buddhist *vihāras* which still exist in certain parts of India. Two other remarkable buildings of the period are the Palace of Forty Pillars at Allahābād and Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandara. The palace at Allahābād, the construction of which, according to William Finch, took forty years and engaged 5,000 to 20,000



TOMB OF HUMĀYŪN, DELHI

workmen of different denominations, is of a definitely Indian design with its projecting veranda-roof "supported on rows of Hindu pillars". The colossal structure of Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandara, planned in the Emperor's lifetime but executed between A.D. 1605 and 1613, consists of five terraces diminishing as they ascend with a vaulted roof to the topmost storey of white marble, and it is thought that a central dome was originally intended to be built over the cenotaph. The Indian design in this structure was inspired by the Buddhist *viharās* of India and also probably by Khmer architecture found in Cochin-China.



JODH BĀĪ'S PALACE, FATHPUR SĪKRĪ



AKBAR'S MAUSOLEUM, SIKANDARA

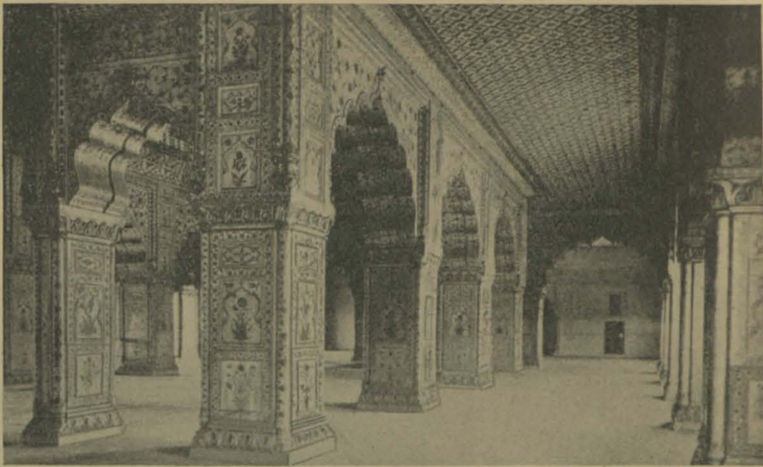
The number of buildings erected during Jahāngīr's reign was poor as compared with the architectural record of his father, but two structures of his time are of exceptional interest and merit. One is the mausoleum of Akbar, whose striking features have been already discussed. The other is the tomb of I'timād-ud-daulah at Āgra built by his daughter, Nūr Jahān, the consort of Jahāngīr. The latter was built wholly of white marble decorated with *pietra dura* work in semi-precious stones. We have an earlier specimen of this work in the *Gol Mandal* temple at Udaipur (from



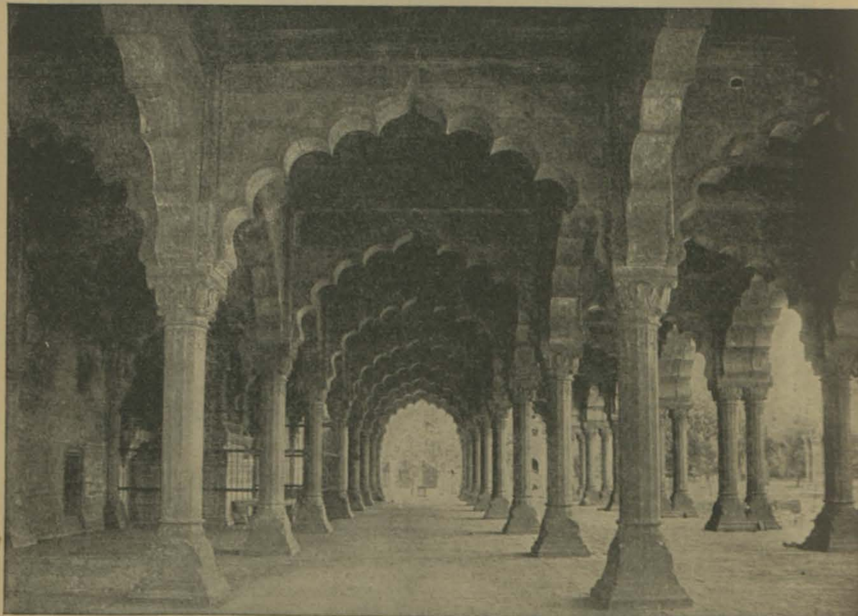
GOL MANDAL OR MAHAL, JAGMANDIR, UDAIPUR

A.D. 1600). It was therefore a Rājput style, or, most probably, an older Indian style.

Shāh Jahān was a prolific builder. Many buildings, palaces, forts, gardens and mosques due to him are to be found at places like Āgra, Delhi, Lahore, Kābul, Kāshmīr, Qandahār, Ajmer, Ahmadābād, Mukhlispur, and elsewhere. Though it is not possible to form a precise estimate of the expenditure on these buildings, yet there is no doubt that the cost must have run into several dozen crores of rupees. The structures of Shāh Jahān, as compared with those of Akbar, are inferior in grandeur and originality, but they are superior in lavish display and rich and skilful decoration, so that the architecture of the former "becomes jewellery on a



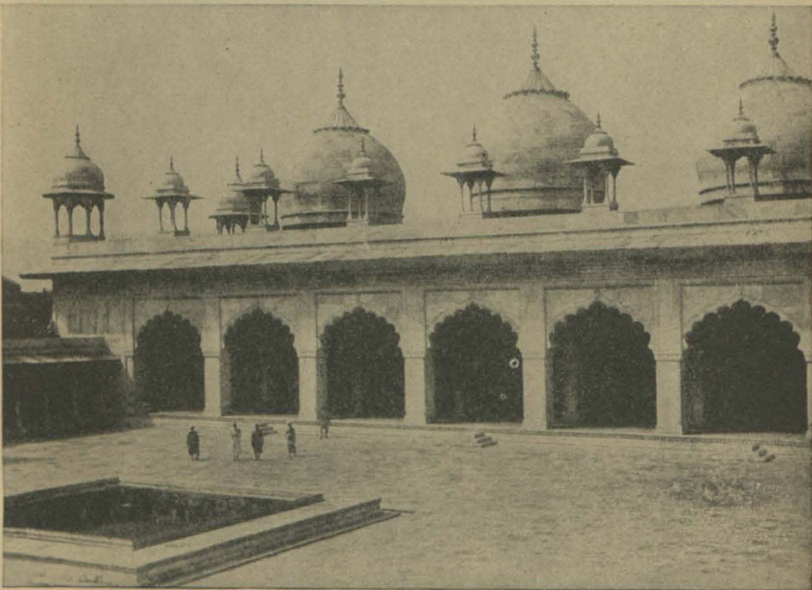
DIWĀN-I-KHĀS, DELHI



DIWĀN-I-AM, DELHI

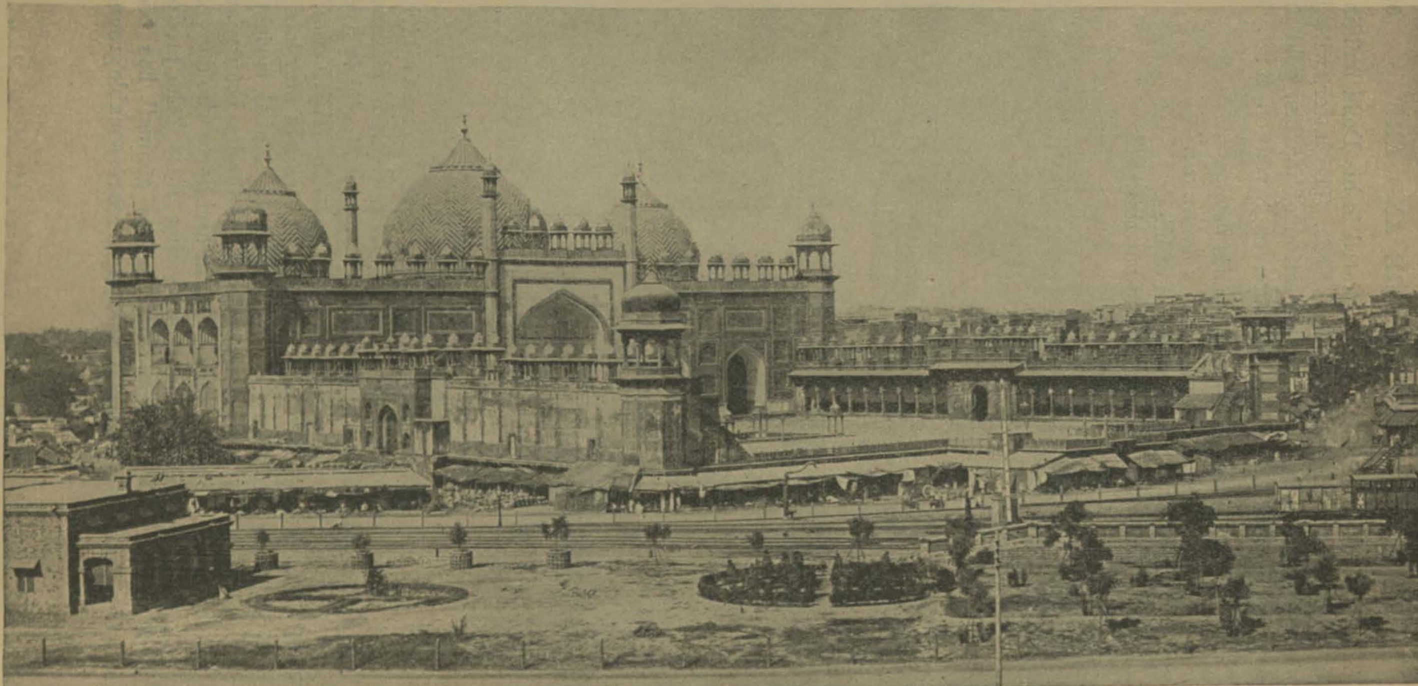
bigger scale". This is particularly illustrated in his Delhi buildings like the *Diwān-i-'Am* and the *Diwān-i-Khās*. The latter, with its costly silver ceiling, and mingled decoration of marble, gold and precious stones, justified the inscription engraved on it:

"*Agar firdaus bar ru-yi zamin ast*
Hamin ast, u hamin ast, u hamin ast."
(If on Earth be an Eden of bliss,
It is this, it is this, none but this.)

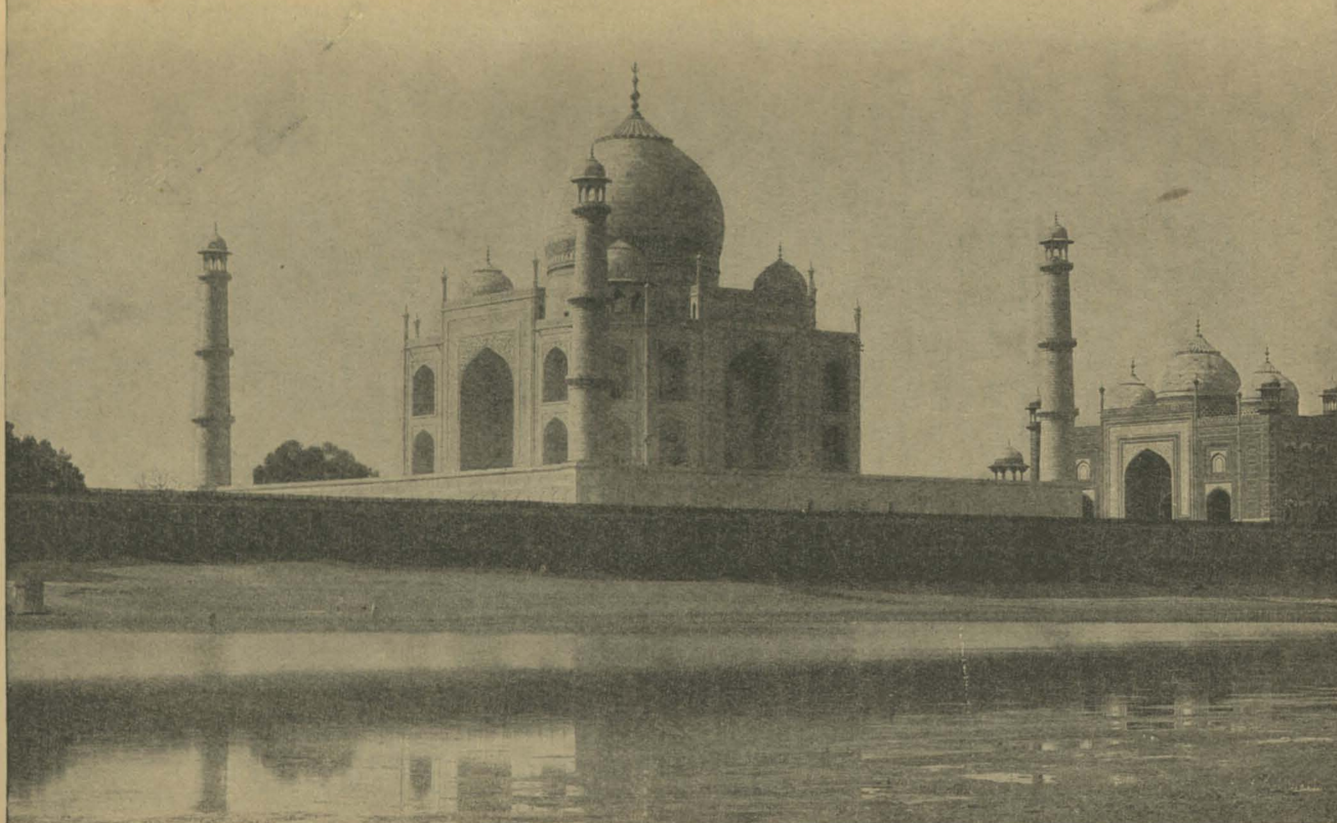


MOTI MASJID AT ĀGRA

The lovely *Moti Masjid* or Pearl Mosque at Āgra deserves a higher place from the standpoint of true art for its purity and elegance. Another notable building of the reign is the *Jāmi' Masjid* at Āgra, otherwise known as the *Masjid-i-Jahān Nāmā*. The *Tāj Mahal*, a splendid mausoleum built by Shāh Jahān, at a cost of fifty lacs of rupees, over the grave of his beloved wife, Mumtāz Mahal, is rightly regarded as one of the wonders of the world for its beauty and magnificence. As regards the identity of the architects who designed and built the Tāj, Smith's contention that it is "the product of a combination of European and Asiatic genius" has been challenged by Moin-ud-dīn Ahmad, who advances reasonable grounds



JĀMIʿ MASJID, ĀGRA



TĀJ MAHAL, ĀGRA

for disbelieving the supposed participation of Italian or French architects in the designing or construction of this noble monument of conjugal fidelity and gives the credit for the design to Ustād 'Īsā. While studying the Tāj, a student of Indian art should not fail to note certain points. Firstly, the plan and chief features of it were not entirely novel, for "from Sher's mausoleum, and through Humāyūn's tomb and the Bijāpur memorials, the descent of the style can easily be discerned"; even the "lace-work in marble and other stones, and precious stones inlay (*pietra dura*) work on marble" were already present in Western India and Rājput art. Secondly, "the lavish use of white marble and some decorations of Indian character" lead us to think that there is no reason to overemphasise the domination of Persian influence in Shāh Jahān's buildings as is usually done. Thirdly, considering the intercourse of India with the Western world, particularly the Mediterranean region, during the Mughul period, it would not be historically inconsistent to believe in the influence of some elements of art of the Western world on the art of India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and also in the presence of some European builders in different parts of contemporary India.

Though not so famous as the Tāj, the mausoleum of Jahāngīr, built by Shāh Jahān at an early date at Shāhdara in Lahore, is a beautiful specimen of art. Another celebrated work of art of this reign was the Peacock Throne. "The throne was in the form of a cot bedstead on golden legs. The enamelled canopy was supported by twelve emerald pillars, each of which bore two peacocks encrusted with gems. A tree covered with diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and pearls stood between the birds of each pair." Nādir Shāh removed the throne to Persia in 1739, but unfortunately it is no longer to be found anywhere in this world.

In Aurangzeb's reign the style of architecture began to deteriorate. If not openly hostile to architecture, the puritanic Emperor ceased to encourage it, or to erect buildings, like his predecessors. The few structures of his reign, the most important of which was the Lahore mosque, completed in A.D. 1674, were but feeble imitations of the older models. Soon the creative genius of the Indian artists mostly disappeared, surviving partly in Oudh and Hyderābād in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

B. Painting

Like architecture, painting in the Mughul period represented a happy mingling of extra-Indian as well as Indian elements. A



THE MAUSOLEUM OF JAHĀNGĪR AT SHĀHDARA, LAHORE

provincialised form of Chinese art, which was a mixture of Indian Buddhist, Iranian, Bactrian and Mongolian influences, was introduced into Persia in the thirteenth century by its Mongol conquerors and was continued by their Tīmūrīd successors, who again imported it into India. The characteristics of this Indo-Sino-Persian art were assimilated, mingled and combined, in the time of Akbar, in products of the contemporary Indian schools of painting, which flourished, as a renaissance of earlier Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina styles, in different parts of the country, such as Gujarāt, Rājputāna, Vijayanagar, Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and some other places, and led to the development of a style of painting in which the Mongoloid elements gradually declined and the Indian ones predominated. This modification can be clearly seen in the paintings in the copies of the *Khāndān-i-Tīmūrīā* and the *Pādshāhnāmāh*, both of which are preserved in the Khudābakhsh Library of Patna.

It is possible that Bābur, who was "always keenly observant of the beauties of Nature", patronised the art of painting, like his Tīmūrīd ancestors, according to his limited resources. The paintings in the Alwar MS. of the Persian version of his *Memoirs* probably represent the style that grew up in his time. Humāyūn, who, like other Tīmūrīds, possessed a taste for art, spent his hours of exile in Persia in studying Sino-Persian music, poetry and painting and came in contact with the leading artists of Persia, who flourished under the generous patronage of Shāh Tahmāsp. Two of them—Mīr Sayyid 'Ālī, a pupil of the famous Bihzād of Herāt, who has been styled "the Raphael of the East", and Khwāja 'Abdus Samād—were persuaded to come to his court at Kābul in A.D. 1550. Humāyūn and his son Akbar took lessons from them in the art of painting and engaged them in the task of preparing the illustrations to the *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamzah.* These two foreign artists, working with their Indian assistants, "formed the nucleus of the Mughul school of painting", which became so prominent in the time of Akbar. This passed on as a valuable gift from Humāyūn to Akbar, while his political legacy was precarious.

In the illustrative paintings to *Amīr Hamzah*, done by Sayyid 'Ālī and 'Abdus Samād between A.D. 1550 and A.D. 1560, the Sino-Persian influence was still predominant. But in 1562, when the famous painting showing the arrival at the Mughul Court of the Vaishṇava musician, Tānsen, was executed, the fusion of Hindu and Sino-Persian styles began to manifest itself. From A.D. 1569 to 1585 the walls of Akbar's new capital at Fathpur Sīkrī were embellished with the masterpieces of the painter's art by the joint labours of the artists of the Hindu and Persian schools, both being

ready to imbibe and utilise new ideas and thus facilitating the growth of a new school of art. The Persian or other foreign artists in Akbar's court were few in number, the most famous of them being 'Abdus Samad, Farrukh Beg, who was of Kalmuck origin, Khursau Qulī and Jamshed. The Hindu artists predominated in number. Of the seventeen leading artists of Akbar's reign, no less than thirteen were Hindus. Abul Fazl thus refers to the standard of their art: "More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art, while the number of those who attain perfection, or of those who are middling, is very large. This is specially true of the Hindus, their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them." They worked in collaboration and excelled in portraiture, book-illustration and illumination and animal painting. Chief among them were Basawān, Lāl, Kesu, Mukund, Haribans and Daswanth. The last-named belonged to the Kāhār or palanquin-bearer caste, while the rest belonged to the Kāyastha, Chitera, Silāvat and Khatri castes and were drawn from different parts of the country.

Akbar, who shared with others of his race "an intense appreciation of the wonder and glory of the world", encouraged pictorial art in every possible way and gave it a religious outlook in spite of the Islamic injunction regarding the representation of living forms. "It appears to me," said he, "as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognising God; for if a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, comes to feel that he cannot bestow individuality on his work, he is forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase his knowledge." In this way he sought to remove the discontent of the orthodox Muslims, who were opposed to the art of painting. "Bigoted followers of the letter of the law," writes Abul Fazl, "are hostile to the art of painting, but their eyes now see the truth."

The school of art that grew up under Akbar continued to flourish in the reign of Jahāngīr through the enthusiastic support and patronage of the latter. Jahāngīr was an excellent connoisseur, who paid high prices for any pictures that satisfied his aesthetic taste, and an art critic who could tell the names of individual artists in a composite piece. The famous Muslim artists of his court were Āgā Rezā and his son, Abul Hasan, of Herāt; Muhammad Nādir and Muhammad Murād from Samarqānd, who were among the last foreign artists to come to India; and Ustād Mansūr. Among the Hindu painters of this reign, Bishan Dās, Manohar and Govardhan were the most eminent. Himself having a fair acquaintance with

the classical aspects of miniature painting, the Emperor frequently purchased examples of the best schools of art in India or abroad; and his zeal, combined with the skill of his artists, led to the emancipation of Mughul pictorial art from the tutelage of Persian influences and to the development of an art style essentially Indian.

With Jahāngīr, however, according to Percy Brown, the real spirit of Mughul pictorial art declined. Shāh Jahān did not possess the same passion for painting as his father, and his tastes were more for architecture and jewellery. The court portraiture and *darbār* pictures of his reign were characterised by rich pigments and a lavish use of gold rather than by the harmonious blend of colours which was present in Jahāngīr's art. He reduced the number of court painters, and the art of painting was soon deprived of imperial patronage. In the imperial family only Dārā Shukoh was a patron of art, as is proved by his album now preserved in the India Office, and his untimely death was a great blow to art as well as to the Empire. The artists were compelled to seek employment under nobles, as in Rājputāna and the Himālayan states, set up studios in the *bāzārs* and sell their pictures, as a means of livelihood, to the general public, whose number was, however, limited. Bernier noted that the artists had no chance of attaining distinction and worked under adverse circumstances and for poor remuneration.

The reign of Aurangzeb saw a distinct decline of pictorial art, as the Emperor regarded its patronage as opposed to the precepts of sacred law. Large numbers of portraits of him in various situations were indeed drawn, with or without his consent, and he is said to have inspected at intervals the portrait of his rebellious son Muhammad Sultān, painted by his order, to know his condition in prison. But he is reported to have defaced the paintings in the Asār Mahal at Bijāpur, and Manucci writes that under his orders the figures in Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandara were whitewashed. With the disintegration of the Mughul Empire after the death of Aurangzeb, some of the surviving painters migrated from the capital to the states of Oudh, Hyderābād, Mysore and Bengal, which had made themselves practically independent, and some went to Lucknow and Patna. But both the support that they got and the work that they executed were far inferior to what had been the case under the Great Mughuls.

In the eighteenth century a style of painting noted for brilliancy and decorative effect flourished in Rājputāna, particularly in Jaipur. In the latter half of the century, highly beautiful and refined pictures were painted by the Kāngrā school, of which the Tehrī-Garhwāl school was an offshoot; and in the early nineteenth

century this developed into Sikh portrait painting. Recently, artists both in India and Europe have begun to appreciate Mughul and Rājput paintings and are trying to revive the style.

C. Music

Indian rulers like the 'Ādil Shāhī Sultāns of Bijāpur and Bāz Bahādur of Mālwa, a contemporary of Akbar, and all the Great Mughuls, with the exception of Aurangzeb, appreciated the art of music. Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān extended considerable patronage to it, which led to the improvement of its quality and to its being widely cultivated. According to Abul Fazl, thirty-six singers enjoyed the patronage of Akbar's court. Of them, the most famous were Tānsen, about whom Abul Fazl writes that "a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years"; and Bāz Bahādur of Mālwa, who was employed in the service of Akbar, and has been described as "the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindi song". Aurangzeb positively discouraged music and placed a ban upon it.

THE SO-CALLED SLAVE DYNASTY, 1206–90

- I. Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, d. 1210 (Slave of Mu'iz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī)
  - II. Ārām (adopted?) d. 1211
  - Daughter = III. Ilbarī Turk Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish (Slave) d. May 1, 1236.
    - Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd (Bengal.)
    - IV. Rukn-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh, deposed and killed Nov. 1236.
      - VII. 'Alā-ud-dīn Ma'sūd, deposed June 1246.
    - V. (Daughter) Raziyya, deposed May 1240 d. Oct. 1240
    - VI. Mu'iz-ud-dīn Bahrām. d. May 15, 1242
    - VIII. Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. d. Feb. 1266
      - Daughter = Prince Muhammad
        - X. Mu'iz-ud-dīn, Kaiqubād, killed 1290.
          - XI. Kayūmars.
    - ? Daughter = (Slave) IX. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban. d. 1287.
      - Prince Muhammad = Daughter (of VIII.)
      - Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Bughrā Khān (Bengal)

THE KHALJĪ SULTĀNS OF DELHI, 1290–1320

Qaim Khān (Tūlak Khān of Qunduz)

- Khaljīs of Mālwa.
- I. Jalāl-ud-dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, d. July 21, 1296.
  - II. Rukn-ud-dīn, Ibrāhīm, deposed Nov. 1296.
- Masūd (Shihāb-ud-dīn).
  - III. 'Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar Sāni, Muhammad Shāh. d. Jan. 1316.
    - Prince Khizr Khān.
    - IV. Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umar. d. April, 1316.
    - V. Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak. d.c. April, 1320.
      - VI. Nāsir-ud-dīn Khusrav (usurper). d.c. Sept. 1320.

THE HOUSE OF TUGHLUQ, 1320–1413

- I. (Turkī Slave of Balban) Ghiyās-ud-dīn (Ghāzī Malik) Tughluq Shāh I. d. Feb. 1325.
  - II. Muhammad, Jauna d. March 20, 1351.
- Rajab = Bhatti Princess Sipāh Sālār.
  - III. Fīrūz Shāh, d. Sept. 20, 1388.
    - Fath Khān
      - IV. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq (II) deposed and killed 1389
      - VIII. Nusrat Shāh, disputed succession. Set up in Jan. 1395; d. 1398 or 1399
    - Zāfar Khān
      - V. Abu Baqr, deposed Dec. 1390
    - VI. Nāsir-ud-dīn, Muhammad Shāh d. Jan. 20, 1394.
      - VII. Alā-ud-dīn Sikandar (Humāyūn Khān), d. March 8, 1394.
      - IX. Mahmūd Shāh d. Feb. 1413.

THE SAYYID RULERS OF DELHI, 1414–1451

I. Khizr Khān
May 28, 1414; d. May 20, 1421.

- II. Mu'iz-ud-dīn, Mubārak. Killed 1434
- Farid Khān
  - III. Muhammad Shāh d. 1445.
    - IV. 'Alā-ud-dīn, 'Ālam Shāh d. 1453. (Removed to Badāūn, 1451).

THE LODĪ DYNASTY OF DELHI, 1451–1526

I. Buhlūl Lodī, d. July, 1489.

- Bārbak Shāh (Jaunpur).
- II. Nizām Khān, Sikandar Lodī d. Nov. 21, 1517.
  - III. Ibrāhīm Lodī d. April 21, 1526
- 'Ālam

KINGS OF BENGAL

(1) Eastern Bengal

Fakhr-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh	1336 or 1338
Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Ghāzī Shāh	1346–1352

(2) Western Bengal and all Bengal

'Alā-ud-dīn 'Ālī Shāh	1339
Hājī Shams-ud-dīn Iliyās Shāh, Bhangara	1345
Sikandar Shāh	1357
Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh	1393
Saif-ud-dīn Hamza Shāh	1410
Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd	1412
Ganesh of Bhāṭūriā (Kāns Narāyan)	1414
Jadu, alias Jalāl-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh	1414
Danuja-mardana	1417
Mahendra	1418
Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad Shāh	1431
Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh	1442
Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh	1460
Shams-ud-dīn Yūsuf Shāh	1474
Sikandar Shāh II	1481
Jalāl-ud-dīn Fath Shāh	1481
Bārbak the Eunuch, Sultān Shāhzāda	1486
Malik Indīl, Fīrūz Shāh	1486
Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh II	1489
Sīdī Badr, Shams-ud-dīn Muzaffar Shah	1490

KINGS OF BENGAL—*continued.*

Sayyid 'Alā-ud-dīn Husain Shāh . . .	1493
Nasīr-ud-dīn Nusrat Shāh	1518
'Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh	1533
Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh . . .	1533
Humāyūn, Emperor of Delhi	1538
Sher Shāh Sūr	1539
Khizr Khān	1540
Muhammad Khān Sūr	1545
Khizr Khān, Bahādur Shāh	1555
Ghiyās-ud-dīn Jalāl Shāh	1561
Son of preceding	1564
Tāj Khān Kararānī	1564
Sulaimān Kararānī	1572
Bāyazīd Khan Kararānī	1572
Dāūd Khān Kararānī	1572–1576

HOUSE OF ILIYĀS

- Hājī Shams-ud-dīn Iliyās
  - Sikandar Shāh
    - Ghiyās-ud-dīn A'zam Shāh
      - Saif-ud-dīn Hamza
        - Shams-ud-dīn II
        - Shihāb-ud-dīn Bāyazīd
          - Fīrūz
  - : Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd Shāh I
    - Rukn-ud-dīn Bārbak Shāh
      - Shams-ud-dīn Yūsuf Shāh
        - : Sikandar Shāh II
    - Jalāl-ud-dīn Fath Shāh
      - : Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd II

SAYYID KINGS OF BENGAL

- Asraf
  - Alā-ud-dīn Husain
    - Nusrat Shāh
      - Alā-ud-dīn Fīrūz
    - Mahmūd Shāh
      - Daughter = Khizr Khān

KARARĀNĪ DYNASTY

- Jamāl
  - Tāj Khān
  - Sulaimān
    - Bāyazīd
    - Dāūd Khān
  - Imad
  - Iliyās

BAHMANĪ KINGS OF THE DECCAN

- (1) 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahman Shāh
  - (2) Muhammad I
    - (3) Mujāhid
    - Fath Khān
  - (4) Dāūd
    - Muhammad Sanjar
  - Ahmad Khān
    - (8) Fīrūz
      - Hasan
      - Mubārak
        - Daughter = (11) Humāyūn. Zālim
    - (9) Ahmad
      - (10) 'Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad
        - (11) Humāyūn. Zālim
        - Hasan Khān
        - Yahyā Khān
      - Dāūd
      - Mahmūd
      - Muhammad
  - Mahmūd Khān
    - (5) Muhammad II
      - Daughter m. Fīrūz
      - Daughter m. Ahmad
      - (6) Ghiyās-ud-dīn
      - (7) Shams-ud-dīn

- Daughter = (11) Humāyūn. Zālim
  - (12) Nizām
  - (13) Muhammad III,
    - (14) Mahmūd
      - (15) Ahmad
      - (16) 'Alā-ud-dīn
      - (17) Walī-ullāh
      - (18) Kalīmullāh
  - Jamshīd (or Ahmad)

RĀNĀS OF MEWĀR (From Ari Simha)

- Ari Simha
  - Hamīr or Hammīra I
    - Kshetra (Kheta) Simha
      - Lakshā (Lākhā)
        - Chūṇḍā
        - Mokala
          - Rānā Śri Kumbhakarna Sārvabhauma 1430–1469
            - Udaya Karan 1469–1474
            - Rājmalla (Rāyamalla) 1474–1508
              - Prithvirāja
                - Banbīr 1535–1537
              - Sangrāma (Sanga) I 1509–1527
                - Ratna Simha 1527–1532
                - Bikramajit 1532–1536
                - Udaya Simha (Udayapur) 1537–1572
                  - Pratāpa Simha I 1572–1597
                    - Amara Simha I 1597–1620
                      - Karan 1620–1628
                        - Jagat Simha I 1628–1652
                          - Rājā Simha I 1652–1680
                            - Bhīm Simha
                            - Jay Simha 1680–1698
                              - Amar Simha II 1699–1711
                                - Sangrāma Simha II 1711–1734

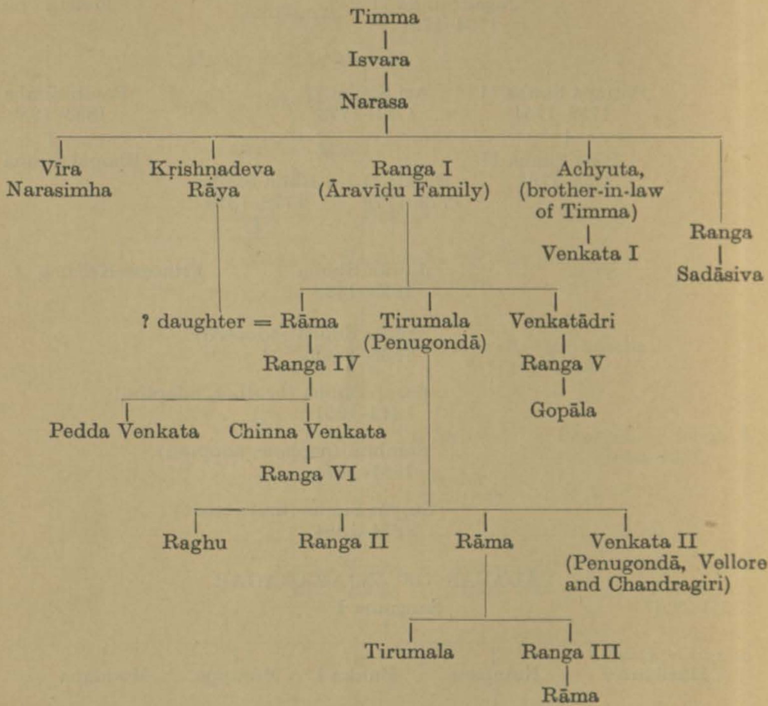
RĀNĀS OF MEWĀR (From Ari Simha)—*contd.*

- Jagat Simha II, 1734–1751
  - Pratāpa Simha II, 1752–1754
    - Rāja Simha II, 1754–1761
  - Ari Simha II, 1761–1773
    - Hamīr II, 1773–1778
    - Bhīm Simha, 1778–1828
      - Jawān Simha, 1828–1838
        - Sardār Simha (adopted), 1838–1842
        - Sarup Simha (brother, adopted), 1842–1861
        - Sambhu (nephew, adopted), 1861–1874
        - Sujjan Simha (first cousin), 1874–1884
      - Princess Kṛishṇa
- Fourth on
  - ⋮
  - Fateh Simha, 1884–1930
    - Bhopāl Simha

YĀDAVAS OF VIJAYANAGAR

- Sangama I
  - Harihara I
    - Daughter = ? Sister's son of Ballāla III
  - Kampana
    - Sangama II
  - Bukka I
    - Malladevī = Harihara II
      - Bukka II
      - Virupāksha
      - Deva Rāya I
        - Vīra Vijaya
          - Deva Rāya II
            - Mallikārjuna (Prauḍha Immadi Deva Rāya, ? Pina Rāo)
            - Virupāksha II
              - Prauḍha Deva
          - Pratāp Deva Rāya I
        - ? Daughter = Fīrūz Bahmanī
    - Kumāra Kampana
      - Jammāna
    - Vīra-Viruppana
    - Bhāskara
    - Mallinātha
  - Mārappa
  - Muddapa

TULUVA AND ĀRAVĪDU KINGS OF VIJAYANAGAR, etc.



SŪR KINGS, 1540–1555

- Ibrāhīm Khān
  - Hasan Khān
    - I. Farid Khān, then Sher Khān (Sher Shāh) Killed May 22, 1545
      - II. Islām (Salīm) Shāh = Daughter (of Nizām Khān); d. November, 1554
        - Fīrūz Shāh murdered November, 1554
    - Nizām Khān
      - Daughter (married to Islām (Salīm) Shāh)
      - III. Mubāriz Khān Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh (‘Ādilī or Audhli) killed at Monghyr, 1556
      - Daughter married to Ibrāhīm No. IV
      - Daughter married to Sikandar No. V
    - Sulaiman Ahmad and others
  - Ghāzī Khān
    - IV. Ibrāhīm Khān, Ibrāhīm Shāh, married sister of ‘Ādilī; fled from upper India; killed in Orissa between July 1567 and July 1568.
  - (Name unknown)
    - V. Ahmad Khān Sikandar Shāh, married sister of ‘Ādilī, retired to hills, 1556; expelled by Akbar, 1557; fled to Bengal and died, 1558–1559.

TIMŪRĪD DYNASTY—THE FIRST SIX RULERS

So-called "Barlās Turks", "Chaghātai Gurgani", or Mughul Emperors

- I. Zahir-ud-dīn, Bābur d. 1530
  - II. Muhammad Humāyūn d. 1556
    - III. Jalāl-ud-dīn Akbar d. 1605
      - IV. Nūr-ud-dīn Muhammad, Jahāngīr, (Salīm), d. 1627
        - Khusrav
        - Parwez
        - V. Khurram Shihāb-ud-dīn Muhammad, Shāh Jahān, deposed 1658, died 1666.
          - Dārā Shukoh
          - Shujā
          - VI. Muhi-ud-dīn Muhammad Aurangzeb, 'Ālamgīr, d. 1707
          - Murād
        - Shahryār
      - Murād
      - Dāniyāl
    - Mīrzā Hakīm
  - Kāmrān
  - Hindāl
  - 'Askarī

THE LATER TIMŪRĪDS

- VI. Muhi-ud-dīn Muhammad Aurangzeb, 'Ālamgīr I, d. 1707
  - Muhammad Sultān, died 1676
  - VII. Mu'azzam, Shāh 'Ālām I, Bahādur Shāh I (acc. 1707, d. 1712)
    - VIII. Muiz-ud-dīn Jahāndār Shāh, killed 1713
      - XIV(a) 'Azīz-ud-dīn 'Ālamgīr II (acc. 1754, killed 1759)
        - XV(a) Mīrzā 'Abdullah 'Ālī Gohar, Shāh 'Ālam II (acc. 1759, blinded 1788, d. 1806)
          - XVI. Akbar Shāh II (acc. 1806, d. 1837)
            - XVII. Bahādur Shāh II, (acc. 1837, deposed 1858 at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny and d. 1862)
    - 'Azīm-us-Shān
      - IX. Muhammad Farrukhsiyar (acc. 1713, murdered 1719)
    - Rafī-ul-Qadr, Rafī-us-Shān
      - XII(b) Muhammad Ibrāhīm (1720)
      - XI. Rafī-ud-daulah (Shāh Jahān II acc. and death 1719)
      - X(a) Rafī-ud-Darajāt (acc. and death 1719)
    - Khujistah Akhtar, Jahān Shāh (killed in battle)
      - XII(a) Muhammad Shāh (acc. 1719, d. 1748)
        - XIII. Ahmad Shāh (acc. 1748, deposed 1754)
          - XV(b) Bīdār Bakht (1788)
  - Muhammad A'zam (killed at Jājau 1707)
    - Bīdār Bakht (killed at Jājau)
  - Akbar (d. in Persia 1704 or 1706)
    - X(b) Nekusiyar (1719)
  - Kām Bakhsh (killed near Hyderābād, 1708)
    - Muhi-us-Sunnat
      - XIV(b) Shāh Jahān III

BHONSLAS (CHHATRAPATI)

Malojī (claims descent from the Royal House of Mewār).

Yādavas of Devagiri
|
Lukhji Jādhav
|
Jijā Bāī = Shāhjī = Tukā Bāī
|
Vyankojī or Ekojī (Tanjore)

Shambhūjī (died at Kanakagiri)

Sai Bāī = Shivājī I = Soyra Bāī

Yesu Bāī = Shambhūjī I

Tārā Bāī = Rājārām = Rajas Bāī

Shāhū I (Shivājī II)
|
Rām Rājā
|
Shāhū II (adopted)
|
Pratāpa Singh — Shāhjī Rājā

Shivājī III
|
Rām Rājā (adopted by Shāhū)

Shambhūjī II (Kolhāpur)
|
Shivājī IV
|
Shambhu — Shāhajī
|
Shivājī V
|
Rājārām II
|
Shivājī VI
|
Shāhū Chhatrapati

THE PESHWĀS

- Viswanāth
  - I. Bālājī Viswanāth (1713)
    - II. Bājī Rāo I (1720)
      - III. Bālājī Bājī Rāo (1740)
        - Vishwās Rāo
        - IV. Mādhava Rāo Ballāl (1761)
        - V. Nārāyan Rāo (1772)
          - VII. Mādhava Rāo Nārāyan (1774)
      - VI. Raghunāth Rāo (Raghoba) (1773)
        - Amrita Rāo (adopted)
          - Vināyak Rāo
        - IX. Bājī Rāo II (1796–1818)
          - Nānā Sāheb (adopted)
        - VIII. Chimnājī Āppā (1796)
    - Chimnājī Āppā

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Chapter V

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1. Fall of the Moghul Empire—Keene.
2. Fall of the Moghul Empire—Owen.
3. Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vols. I, II, & III—J. N. Sarkar.
4. First Two Nawābs of Oudh—A. L. Srivastava.
5. History of the Jats, Vol. I—K. R. Qānūngo.
6. Later Moghuls, two volumes—Irvine.
7. Muhammadan India, Bk. VI, Ch. 7—Smith.
8. Nādir Shāh—Frazer.
9. Rise of the Sikh Power—N. K. Sinha.
10. Rise of the Peshwās—H. N. Sinha.

SPECIAL:—

1. Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān—Tod (Crooke's edn.).
2. Shāhnāmah-i-Bahādur Shāh—Dānishmand Khān. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.
3. Bayān-i-Waqāi'—Khwāja 'Abdul Karim (Kujhua Wakf Library, Saran). An English translation, wanting the first chapter and the later additions of the author, was published by Gladwin under the title of 'Memoirs of Khojeh Abdul Kerim' (Cal. 1788; a copy of this is preserved in the Imperial Library, Calcutta). A fuller translation was made by Lt. H. G. Pritchard for Sir H. M. Elliot, and is now preserved in MS. (Br. Mus., Addl. 30782).
4. History of Bengal—Stewart.
5. History of the Sikhs—Cunningham.
6. History of the Mahrattas—Duff.
7. 'Ibratnāmah—Md. Qāsim Lāhorī. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.
8. India Tracts (Trans. of a Persian MS.) (Lond., 1788)—Major James Browne.

9. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh—Kalyān Singh (Khudābakhsh Library, Patna).
10. Memoir of Central India—Malcolm.
11. Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb—Khāfī Khān (Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1869). Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII.
12. Muzaffarnāmāh (Khudābakhsh Library, Patna).
13. Riyāz-us-salātīn—Ghulām Husain Salīm (English translation).
14. Siyar-ul-Mutakherin—Ghulām Husain. English translation by Hājī Mustafā: Cambray's Edition, four volumes.

CHRONOLOGY

c. 962. Foundation of the Kingdom of Ghaznī.
973. Foundation of the later Chalukya Empire (of Kalyāna).
974–995. Muñja.
977. Accession of Sabuktigīn.
985. Accession of Rājarāja the Great, Chola.
986–987. First invasion of Sabuktigīn.
c. 995. Accession of Sindhurāja Navasāhasāṅka.
997. Death of Sabuktigīn.
998. Accession of Sultān Mahmūd.
1001. Great defeat of Jaipāl by Sultān Mahmūd.
1008. Battle near Und.
1012–1044. Rājendra Chola I.
1013. Mahmūd captures Nandānā.
1018. Rājyapāla (Pratihāra).
Kanauj seized by Mahmūd of Ghaznī.
c. 1018–1055. Bhoja of Dhārā.
1026. Sārnādh inscription of the time of Mahipāla I of Bengal.
Fall of Nidar Bhim (Shāhi).
Sack of Somnāth (during the reign of Bhīmdeva I).
1030. Death of Sultān Mahmūd.
1032. Vimala Sha.
1039. Death of Gāngeyadeva Kalachuri.
c. 1040. Coronation of Lakshmī-karna of the Kalachuri Dynasty.
1052. Red Fort at Delhi.
1070–1122. Rājendra Chola, Kulottuṅga I.
1076–1127. Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāna.
c. 1076–1148. Anantavarman Choḍa Gaṅga.
1089–1101. Harsha of Kāshmīr.
1090. Rise of the Gāhaḍavālas.
c. 1098. Kīrtivarman Chandella.
c. 1106–1141. Vishṇuvardhana Hoysala.
1113–1114. Foundation of an Era by Siddharāja Jayasimha of Gujarāt.

1114–1154. Govinda Chandra, the Great Gāhaḍavāla King.
1119. Epoch of the Lakshmaṇa Sena Era.
c. 1143–1172. Kumārapāla of Gujarāt.
1153–1164. Vigraharāja IV (Vīsaladeva).
1158. Ballāla Sena.
c. 1167–1202. Paramardi Chandella.
1170–1194. Jayachchandra.
1175. Muhammad bin Sām invades India and captures Multān.
1178. Muhammad defeated in Gujarāt.
1179–1242. Bhīmdev II of Gujarāt.
c. 1185–1205. Lakshmaṇa Sena of Bengal.
1186. Fall of the Yamīnī Dynasty.
1191. First battle of Tarāin.
1192. Second battle of Tarāin.
Fall of Prithvīrāja III Chāhamāna (Chauhān).
1192–1193. Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak takes Delhi.
1194. Battle of Chandwār. Fall of the Gāhaḍavālas.
1197–1247. Singhana the Great, Yādava King.
c. 1200. Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn conquers parts of Eastern India.
1206. Death of Muhammad bin Sām and accession of Qutb-ud-dīn in India.
1210. Death of Qutb-ud-dīn.
Accession of Ārām Shāh.
1210–1211. Accession of Iltutmish.
1221. Invasion of the Mongols under Chingīz Khān.
1228. Ahoms in Assam.
1231. Tejahpāla.
1231–1232. Foundation of the Qutb Minār.
1236. Death of Iltutmish.
Accession and deposition of Fīrūz.
Accession of Raziyya.
1240. Deposition and murder of Raziyya.
Accession of Mu'iz-ud-dīn Bahrām.
1241. Capture of Lahore by the Mongols.
c. 1244–1262. Vīsaladeva, King of Gujarāt.
1246. Deposition and death of Ma'sūd.
Accession of Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd.
1251–1270. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.
1260–1291. Rudrammā, the Great Kākatīya Queen.
1266. Death of Nāsir-du-dīn Mahmūd.
Accession of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban.
1279. Latest known date of Rājendra IV Chola.

1279. Rebellion of Tughril in Bengal.
1280. Bughrā Khān appointed to the Government of Bengal.
1287. Death of Balban.
Accession of Mu'iz-ud-dīn Kaiqubād.
Mongol invasion repelled.
1288. Marco Polo at Kayal.
1290. Death of Kaiqubād.
Accession of Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz Khaljī.
1292. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī captures Bhīlsa.
Mongol invasion.
1294. Devagiri pillaged by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.
1296. Accession of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.
1297. Conquest of Gujarāt (from Karnadeva II).
1301. Capture of Ranthambhor by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.
1302–1303. Capture of Chitor.
Mongol invasion.
1305. Conquest of Mālwa, Ujjain, Māndū, Dhār and Chanderī by the Khaljīs.
1306–1307. Kāfūr's expedition to Devagiri.
1308. Expedition to Warangal.
1310. Malik Nāib's expedition into the South Indian Peninsula.
1316. Death of 'Alā-ud-dīn.
Accession of Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umar.
Death of Malik Nāib.
Deposition of 'Umar and accession of Qutb-ud-dīn Mubārak.
1317–1318. Extinction of the Yādava Dynasty.
1320. Usurpation of Nāsir-ud-dīn Khusrav.
His overthrow by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq.
1321. Expedition to Warangal under Muhammad Jauna (Ulugh Khān).
Rebellion of Muhammad.
1323. Second expedition to Warangal under Muhammad.
Mongol invasion.
1325. Accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq.
1326–1327. Rebellion of Gurshāsp.
1327. Destruction of Kampilī.
Transference of the capital from Delhi to Daulatābād.
1328. The Mongols invade India.
1329. Qarachil expedition. Issue of forced currency of brass and copper for silver.
1333–1334. Arrival of Ibn Batūtah.

1334. Rebellion in Madurā.
Capture of Anegundī by Muhammad bin Tughluq.
1336. Traditional date of the foundation of Vijayanagar.
1337–1338. Expedition to Nagarkot.
1338–1339. Independent Sultānate in Bengal.
1339. Shāh Mīr, King of Kāshmīr.
1342. Ibn Batūtah leaves Delhi on his mission to China.
1345. Accession of Shams-ud-dīn Iliyās in Bengal.
1347. 'Alā-ud-dīn Bahman Shāh proclaimed King of the Deccan.
1351. Death of Muhammad bin Tughluq.
Accession of Fīrūz, son of Rajab.
1353. Fīrūz's first expedition to Bengal.
1359. Fīrūz's second expedition to Bengal.
1360. Fīrūz's expedition to Orissa.
1361. Capture of Nagarkot or Kāngra by Fīrūz.
1363. Fīrūz's first expedition to Sind.
1374. Bukka sends an embassy to the Emperor of China.
1377. Extinction of the Sultānate of Madurā.
1382. Rebellion of Rājā Ahmad or Malik Rājā in Khāndesh.
1388. Death of Fīrūz, son of Rajab.
Accession of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq II.
1389. Death of Tughluq II.
1392. Dilāwār Khān, Governor of Mālwa.
1393. Independent Sultānate of Jaunpur.
1398. Invasion of Timūr.
1414. Khizr Khān occupied Delhi.
Rājā Ganesh in Bengal.
1417–1418. Coins of Danujamardana.
1420. Nicolo Conti visits Vijayanagar.
1424. Capture of Warangal by Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī.
1429. Transfer of the Bahmanī capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar.
c. 1430–1469. Rānā Kumbha.
1434–1435. Kapilendra, King of Orissa.
1443. 'Abdur Razzāk comes to India.
1451. Bahlūl Lodī ascends the throne of Delhi.
1458–1511. Mahmūd Begarha.
1459. Foundation of Jodhpur.
1469. Birth of Guru Nānak.
1470. Death of Zin-ul-'Ābidīn.
1472. Birth of Farid (Sher Khān).
1481. Murder of Mahmūd Gāwān.

1484. Independence of Berar.
1486. Abyssinian rule in Bengal.
1486–1487. Fall of the Sangama Dynasty of Vijayanagar.
Beginning of the rule of the Sāluva Dynasty.
1489. Accession of Sikandar Lodī.
1489–1490. Foundation of the 'Ādil Shāhī Dynasty of Bijāpur.
1490. Establishment of the independent Nizām Shāhī Dynasty of Ahmadnagar.
1493. Husain Shāh elected King of Bengal.
1494. Accession of Bābur in Farghāna.
1497–1498. First voyage of Vasco da Gama.
1504. Bābur occupies Kābul.
1505. Beginning of the rule of the Tulūva Dynasty in Vijayanagar.
1509. Albuquerque, Portuguese Governor of India.
Accession of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya.
c. 1509–1527. Rānā Sanga.
1510. The Portuguese capture Goa.
1511. Bābur captures Samarqānd again.
1512–1518. Independence of the Kutb Shāhī Dynasty of Golkundā.
1513. Death of Albuquerque.
1517. Death of Sikandar Lodī.
Accession of Ibrāhīm Lodī.
1526. First battle of Pānīpat.
1527. Battle of Khānua.
1529. Battle of Gogrā.
1529–1530. Death of Kṛishṇadeva Rāya.
1530. Death of Bābur and accession of Humāyūn.
1533. Bahādur of Gujarāt captures Chitor.
1534. Humāyūn marches to Mālwa.
1535. Defeat of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and his flight to Māndū.
1537. Death of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt.
1538. Sher Khān defeats Mahmūd Shāh of Bengal.
Humāyūn enters Gaur.
Death of Guru Nānak.
1539. Sher Khān defeats Humāyūn at Chaunsa and assumes sovereignty.
1540. Humāyūn's defeat near Kanauj.
1542. Birth of Akbar.
1544. Humāyūn arrives in Persia.
1545. Death of Sher Shāh.

1545. Accession of Islām Shāh.
1552. Death of Guru Angad.
1554. Death of Islām Shāh.
Accession of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh.
Sikandar Sūr in the Punjāb.
1555. Humāyūn recovers the throne of Delhi.
1556. Death of Humāyūn and accession of Akbar.
Second battle of Pānīpat.
1558. Death of Ibrāhīm Sūr. End of the Sūr Dynasty.
1560. Fall of Bairam Khān.
1561. Mughul invasion of Mālwa.
1562. Akbar marries a princess of Amber.
End of Petticoat Government.
1564. Abolition of the *Jizya*.
Death of Rāṇī Durgāvatī and annexation of the Gond kingdom.
1565. Battle of Talikota.
1568. Kararānī's conquest of Orissa.
Fall of Chitor.
1569. Capture of Ranthambhor and Kālinjar.
Birth of Salīm.
1571. Foundation of Fathpur Sīkrī.
1572. Akbar annexes Gujarāt.
1573. Surāt surrenders to Akbar.
Understanding with the Portuguese.
1574. Death of Guru Amardās.
1575. Battle of Tukaroi.
1576. Subjugation of Bengal.
Death of Dāūd near Rājmahal.
The battle of Gogundā or Haldighāt.
1577. Akbar's troops invade Khāndesh.
1579. "Infallibility Decree" promulgated.
1580. Accession of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II in Bijāpur.
First Jesuit mission at Āgra.
Rebellion in Bihār and Bengal.
1581. Akbar's march against Muhammad Hakīm and reconciliation with him.
Death of Guru Rāmdās.
1582. Divine Faith promulgated.
1585. Fitch at Āgra.
1586. Annexation of Kāshmir.
1589. Death of Todar Mal and Bhagwān Dās.
1591. Mughul conquest of Sind.

1592. Annexation of Orissa.
1595. Siege of Ahmadnagar.
Acquisition of Qandahār.
Annexation of Baluchistān.
Death of Faizī.
1597. Death of Rānā Pratāp.
1600. Charter to the London East India Company.
Ahmadnagar stormed.
1601. Capture of Asīrgarh.
1602. Death of Abul Fazl. Formation of the United East India Company of the Netherlands.
1605. Death of Akbar and accession of Jahāngīr.
1606. Rebellion of Khusrav.
Qandahār invested by the Persians.
Execution of the Fifth Sikh Guru, Arjan.
1607. Qandahār relieved by the Mughuls.
Sher Afghān, first husband of Nūr Jahān, killed.
Second revolt of Khusrav.
1608. Malik 'Ambar takes Ahmadnagar.
1609. Hawkins arrives at Āgra.
The Dutch open a factory at Pulicat.
1611. Jahāngīr marries Nūr Jahān.
Hawkins leaves Āgra. The English establish a factory at Masulipatam.
1612. Khurram marries Mumtāz Mahal.
First English factory at Surāt.
The Mughul Governor of Bengal defeats the rebellious Afghāns.
Mughuls annex Kuch Hājo.
1613. Jahāngīr's *firman* to the English Company.
1615. Submission of Mewār to the Mughuls.
Arrival of Sir Thomas Roe in India.
1616. Roe received by Jahāngīr.
The Dutch establish a factory at Surāt.
1618. Roe, after obtaining *firmans* for English trade, leaves the Imperial Court.
1619. Roe leaves India.
1620. Capture of the Kāngra fort.
Shahryār betrothed to Nūr Jahān's daughter (by Sher Afghān).
Malik 'Ambar revolts in the Deccan.

1622. Death of Khusrav. Shāh 'Abbās of Persia besieges and takes Qandahār. Shāh Jahān ordered to recover Qandahār but rebels. Malik 'Ambar takes Bīdar.
1624. Suppression of Shāh Jahān's rebellion.
1625. Dutch factory at Chinsurā.
1626. Death of Malik 'Ambar.
Rebellion of Mahābat Khān.
1627. Death of Jahāngīr.
Birth of Shivājī (or 1630 according to some).
1628. Shāh Jahān proclaimed Emperor.
1629. Rebellion of Khān Jahān Lodī.
1631. Death of Mumtāz Mahal.
Defeat and death of Khān Jahān Lodī.
1632. Mughul invasion of Bijāpur.
Sack of Hugli.
Grant of the "*Golden Firman*" to the English Company by the Sultān of Golkundā.
1633. End of Ahmadnagar Dynasty.
1634. *Firman* permitting English trade in Bengal.
1636. Treaties with Bijāpur and Golkundā.
Shāhjī enters the service of Bijāpur.
Aurangzeb appointed Viceroy of the Deccan.
1638. Peace between the Mughuls and the Āhoms.
Qandahār recovered by the Mughuls.
1639. Foundation of Fort St. George at Madras.
1646. Shivājī captures Torna.
1649. Persians recover Qandahār.
1651. English factory started at Hugli.
Firman granted to the English Company by Shujā.
1653. Aurangzeb reappointed Viceroy of the Deccan.
The Dutch start a factory at Chinsurā.
1656. The Mughuls attack Hyderābād and Golkundā. Peace with Golkundā. Annexation of Jāvlī by Shivājī. Death of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur. Another *firman* granted to the English by Shujā.
1657. Shivājī raids Ahmadnagar and Junnar but is pardoned.
Invasion of Bijāpur by Aurangzeb.
Aurangzeb captures Bīdar and Kalyānī.
Illness of Shāh Jahān.
The war of succession begins.

1658. Battles of Dharmāt and Samūgarh.
Coronation of Aurangzeb.
1659. Battles of Khajwah and Deorāi.
Execution of Dārā. Captivity of Murād and Shāh Jahān.
Second coronation of Aurangzeb.
Murder of Afzal Khān.
1660. Shujā chased from Bengal to Arākān. Mīr Jumla appointed Governor of Bengal.
1661. Cession of Bombay to the English.
Execution of Murād. Mughul capture of Cooch Bihār.
1662. Peace with Āhoms.
Death of Sulaimān Shukoh.
1663. Death of Mīr Jumla. Shāistā Khān appointed Governor of Bengal.
1664. Shivājī sacks Surāt.
Colbert, the French Minister, founds an India Company.
Shivājī assumes royal title.
1666. Death of Shāh Jahān.
Capture of Chittāgong.
Shivājī's visit to Āgra and escape.
1667. The Yūsufzāīs rebel.
1668. New religious ordinances.
Cession of Bombay to the East India Company.
First French factory started at Surāt.
1669. Jāt rebellion under Gokla.
1670. Second sack of Surāt.
1671. Rise of Chhatrasāl Bundelā.
1672. Satnāmī outbreak.
Revolt of the Afrīdīs.
Shāistā Khān's *firman* to the English Company.
1674. François Martin founds Pondicherry.
Shivājī assumes the title of Chhatrapati.
1675. Execution of Teg Bahādur, Guru of the Sikhs.
1677. Shivājī's conquests in the Carnatic.
1678. Mārwār occupied by the Mughuls.
Death of Jaswant Singh.
1679. Re-imposition of the *Jizya*.
Mughul attack on Mārwār.
1680. Death of Shivājī.
Rebellion of Prince Akbar.

1680. Aurangzeb's *firman* to the English Company.
1681. Loss of Kāmarūpa by the Mughuls.
Aurangzeb goes to the Deccan.
1686. English war with the Mughuls.
Fall of Bijāpur.
1687. Fall of Golkundā.
1689. Execution of Sambhūjī. Rājārām succeeds but retires to Jinjī.
1690. Peace between the Mughuls and the English.
Calcutta founded.
1691. Defeat of the Jāts. Aurangzeb at the zenith of his power.
Grant of a *firman* by Ibrāhīm Khān to the English.
1692. Renewed Marātha activity in the Deccan.
1698. The new English Company Trading to the East Indies.
The English obtain zamindārī of Sutanaṭī, Calcutta and Govindapur.
1699. First Marātha raid on Mālwa.
1700. Death of Rājārām and regency of his widow Tārā Bāī.
1702. Amalgamation of the English and the London East India Companies.
1703. The Marāthas enter Berar.
1706. The Marāthas raid Gujarāt and sack Barodā.
1707. Death of Aurangzeb.
Battle of Jajau.
Accession of Bahādur Shāh.
1708. Shāhu, King of the Marāthas.
Death of Guru Govind Singh.
1712. Death of Bahādur Shāh.
Accession of Jahāndār Shāh.
1713. Farrukhsiyar becomes Emperor.
Jahāndār Shāh murdered.
1714. Bālājī Viswanāth Peshwā. Husain 'Ālī appointed Viceroy of the Deccan.
The treaty of the Marāthas with Husain 'Ālī.
1716. Execution of Bāndā, the Sikh leader. The Surman Embassy.
1717. Farrukhsiyar's *firman* to the English Company.
Re-imposition of *Jizya*.
1719. Husain 'Ālī returns to Delhi with the Marāthas.
Farrukhsiyar put to death.

1719. Death of Rafī-ud-Darajāt.
Accession of Muhammad Shāh.
1720. Accession of Bāji Rāo Peshwā.
Fall of the Sayyid brothers.
1724. Sa'ādat Khān appointed Governor of Oudh.
Nizām virtually independent in the Deccan.
Qamār-ud-dīn becomes *wazīr*.
1725–1739. Shujā-ud-dīn, Governor of Bengal.
1735. Bāji Rāo recognised by the Imperial Government as ruler of Mālwa.
1739. Nādir Shāh takes Delhi.
Death of Shujā-ud-dīn and accession of Sarfarāz in Bengal.
The Marāthas capture Salsette and Bassein.
1740. 'Ālīvardī Khān becomes Governor of Bengal.
Accession of Bālājī Rāo Peshwā.
The Marāthas invade Arcot.
Dast 'Ālī killed.
1742. Marātha invasion of Bengal.
Dupleix Governor of Pondicherry.
Murder of Safdar 'Ālī, Nawāb of the Carnatic.
1744–1748. First Anglo-French War.
1745. Rise of the Rohillas.
1746. La Bourdonnais takes Madras.
1747. Invasion of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī.
1748. Death of Nizām-ul-mulk.
Death of Muhammad Shāh of Delhi and accession of Ahmad Shāh.
1749. Death of Shāhu.
Madras restored to the British.
1750. Defeat and death of Nāsir Jang.
1750–1754. War of the Deccan and Carnatic succession.
1751. Clive's defence of Arcot.
Death of Muzaffar Jang and accession of Salābat Jang.
Treaty of 'Ālīvardī with the Marāthas.
1754. Recall of Dupleix. Godeheu's treaty with the English.
Accession of 'Ālamgīr II.
1756. Death of 'Ālīvardī Khān.
Accession of Sirāj-ud-daulah.
1756–1763. Seven Years' War.

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